
MD

McGIL DAILY



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New France
page 15*



*Nixon:
The Desperation
of Economics
page 12*



*The Struggle in
East Pakistan
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TODAY

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SAVOY SOCIETY; executive meeting. All members please attend. Union 413, 5 pm.

INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS ASSOC.: Reception for all newly arrived foreign students. Union B26-27, 7 pm

STUDENT ART EXHIBIT: Anyone interested in exhibiting his own painting, sculpture, graphics, and photography sign up at the Students' Society office counter in the Union anytime today.

HILLEL: Bob Ryszkiewicz, folk singer. 50c at Hillel House 3460 Stanley, 8:30 pm.

BLOOD DRIVE '71: Sign up to work at the blood drive at Union 464 all day.

HILLEL: Open house so drop in. Cafeteria open between 12 and 2. Hillel house at 3460 Stanley.

USED BOOK SALE: Collecting used books from Sept. 16 to 20; selling dates from Sept. 22-28. Bring books to Union B24 all day.

SGWU GEORGIAN PLAYERS: Auditions for our first production this year in the Henry Hall Bldg. Rm. H-333, Sept. 20-22, 6-10 pm.

JEWISH FREE UNIVERSITY: Anyone interested (esp. faculty and grads) in leading a course or seminar call 845-9171 anytime.



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VOL. 61 NO. 1
MONTREAL, THURSDAY SEPTEMBER 16, 1971

THREE CENTS

MCGILL
DAILY

DEPOT LEGAL BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE

Indians
oppose
James
Bay
project

In the wake of all the other criticisms of the James Bay hydroelectric project, Québec's Indians lashed out last month at the Bourassa government.

The Indians charged that the government did not bother to consult the Cree Indians living in the James Bay region, even though Indians in other provinces are consulted about projects which affect them directly.

Max Gros-Louis, executive secretary of the Québec Indian

Association, addressed a plea to Québec nationalist sentiment at a meeting of the Association in August.

"The deportation of the Acadians is, according to you, a crime of the English," he said. "But the extermination of 7,000 Indians is seen as a Christmas present from Bourassa."

The multi-billion dollar project will destroy the livelihoods of 7,000 to 8,000 Indians who live by hunting and fishing.

The hunting grounds will be flooded by the huge reservoirs and the project will cut off fresh water from the region for ten to twenty years, keeping out fish and discouraging migrating birds from settling.

The Indians are especially bitter since the territory has legally belonged to them since 1912. They assert that Québec has to ask their permission to do anything with the James Bay area.

They want the federal government to "do its duty" and indicate to Québec that it has to negotiate with the Indians.

"It's a stupid project," says Chief Gros-Louis. He claims that the government is going to

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daily photo by bob karam

ACTING INTERNAL Vice-President Allan Tanny savors the expensive taste of Maisonneuve coffee in his office. Tanny, who also holds the position of External V-P, will be performing the onerous duties of Internal until a successor to David Sprague is elected.

Library workers
on strike
at Sir George

Talks between Sir George Williams University and the library workers' union have stalled due to the administration's unwillingness to negotiate.

At two final meetings between SGWU and the National Union of SGWU's Employees (CNTU) held August 2 and 4, the Union clearly stated its willingness to "negotiate 24 hours a day, seven days a week." The University's chief negotiators, however, stayed away from both meetings. Frustrated at the administration's attitude, the workers called a half day strike on Friday, August 6.

The strike dispelled all doubts about the extent of support for the Union. Over 90% of the eligible members walked out, as did some non-eligible workers who sympathized with the demands.

The employees returned to work after the weekend because, says Bernard Scheitlerlein, one of the Union negotiators, "We didn't want to go on a long strike. We wanted to clear this up before school began."

The University offered its final proposals to the Union July 27. The Union answered with counter-proposals August 2 at a meeting which was not attended by SGWU's chief negotiators, director of personnel John Hall, and chief librarian Helen Howard. The University then asked the Union to, as Hall said, "write down those points you find you could not live with." Scheitlerlein feels that this is just another delaying tactic: "After six months of negotiations, they know damn well why we can't live with it."

The Union is now waiting for the administration to call a meeting.

In the course of the negotiations, the competence of the University's negotiating team was brought into question. On occasions, Hall asked Union negotiators to explain technical procedures to him. The personnel director also did not know what the Workmen's Compensation Plan was.

Doubt has also been thrown on the University's good faith in negotiations. When scheduling

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Sprague
resigns

Richard Pomerantz, President of the Students' Society, confirmed yesterday that David Sprague, elected last spring to the post of Internal Vice-President, has resigned and is no longer a student at McGill. Instead, Sprague is presently enrolled in an MBA program at the University of Western Ontario.

Pomerantz claimed that there were two main reasons for Sprague's decision. First, the Internal V-P applied to many graduate schools, including McGill's, and received acceptance notices from most. McGill, however, did not reply until very late in the summer and Sprague became discouraged at the university's belated and hesitant response.

He felt that the Faculty of Management was discriminating against him because of his involvement in student politics. Last year, two students from the same faculty were pressured into withdrawing their applications for executive positions in the Students' Society.

"There seems to be a bias on the part of certain graduate faculties at McGill against Students' Society executives on the ground of shaky academic performance in the past," commented Pomerantz.

According to him, Sprague decided not to attend graduate school at McGill because he felt the management faculty here is too "mathematically-oriented".

Now that Sprague has left, Council is being inundated with allegations about his character. At a meeting September 14, Secretary-Treasurer Myron Galloway charged that a filing cabinet containing his records had been pried open and some documents were missing. Frank

Continued on page 4



photo courtesy the georgian

Indians . . .

Continued from page 3

flood the richest mineral-bearing territory in Canada.

The Indians who were displaced by the Manicouagan Dam have refused to move, and an estimated 100 families are now living on welfare.

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The government claims that the project will create some of those 100,000 jobs it promised before the last election. But the 8,000 future welfare recipients of the James Bay region will offset any real gain, the Indians predict.

And the Americans will be the main beneficiaries of the project, according to economic nationalists, since they will take an even bigger bite of Quebec's energy output.

SGWU strike

Continued from page 3

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The library workers first applied for certification under the name National Union of Sir George Williams University's Employees (CNTU) April 23, 1970. The University administration contested the certification on five points. When the matter was taken to the Labor Court, the Union won all five points. Because of the delay caused by the University's challenge, certification was not awarded until January 20, 1971.

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Continued from page 3

Costi, Union Building Manager, also claimed that his records had been broken into and some papers were missing. When asked, Sprague allegedly said that he knew the person responsible for it.

It was also revealed at the Council meeting that the offices of some executives had been 'bugged'. A Bell Telephone worker assigned to the Union has claimed that he discovered bugging devices while installing new phones for the Students' Society executives. All wires led to a monitoring device located in Sprague's apartment.

The Council members reacted with amazement and disbelief when this information was presented to them, and Pomerantz expressed himself "shaken" by the news. However, he preferred "not to jump to any conclusions" and said he hoped to get in touch with Sprague "shortly".

"It is inevitable," he said, "that the staff and executive will demonstrate some concern on what they say and to whom."

An election will be held Wednesday, October 20, to fill the position vacated by Sprague. In the meantime, External Vice-president Allan Tanny will act as temporary Internal V-P.

Several commercial newspapers in Montreal reacted with sensationalism this week to the publication of the 1971 edition of the McGill Student Handbook. "It's a crime," sniffed the editorial of the *Sunday Express*, the paper which first made the Handbook a cause celebre. "What does the Montreal police department plan to do about it?"

Students' Society president Richard Pomerantz reacted with "sheer anger" to the paper's allegations, calling the Handbook "the best bloody book anybody put out."

The *Sunday Express*, a division of none other than the Good Earth Corporation, recognizes that "there's not much we can do about it (the Handbook)." But it was apparently willing to make the old college try, suggesting that the police "crack down, not only on the idiots who put together the manual . . . but on whoever was responsible for . . . letting the publication into print". The banner of the Sept. 12 issue of the *Sunday Express* revealed in

large, black, horrified type "New McGill course? Replace 3R's with Pot, Sex".

The article dealt in depth with the Handbook's section on drugs, abortions and demonstrations, creating the impression that the Handbook was written exclusively for the purpose of promoting destructiveness among youth.

The *Sunday Express* summed up: "What it amounts to is an admission that someone in or on the fringe of Canada's most respected university is catering to criminals".

Pomerantz feels the Handbook made a significant contribution to the student community.

"I brought up really good and relevant questions, especially with regard to the Students' Society", Pomerantz said.

He criticized the *Sunday Express* and other Montreal newspapers for distorting the issue, but ascribed the success of such tactics to the "absolute ignorance" of the reading public.

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"To me the *Sunday Express* taking that aspect out and saying that it is typical of the whole book is a misrepresentation of the facts and entirely inconsistent."

"But I guess everyone is entitled to his own opinion," he guessed.

Pomerantz did object to some parts of the Handbook, however.

He explained that the section on how to grow grass held great and even absorbing interest from the point of view of chemical and biological analysis, but that he would have omitted it. He felt that the legal ramifications of encouraging youth to smoke grass may have been prohibitive.

"Everything else I absolutely agree with," he enthused.

Following the lead of the *Sunday Express*, the *Montreal Gazette* and the *Montreal Star* also printed articles dealing with the Handbook. The articles

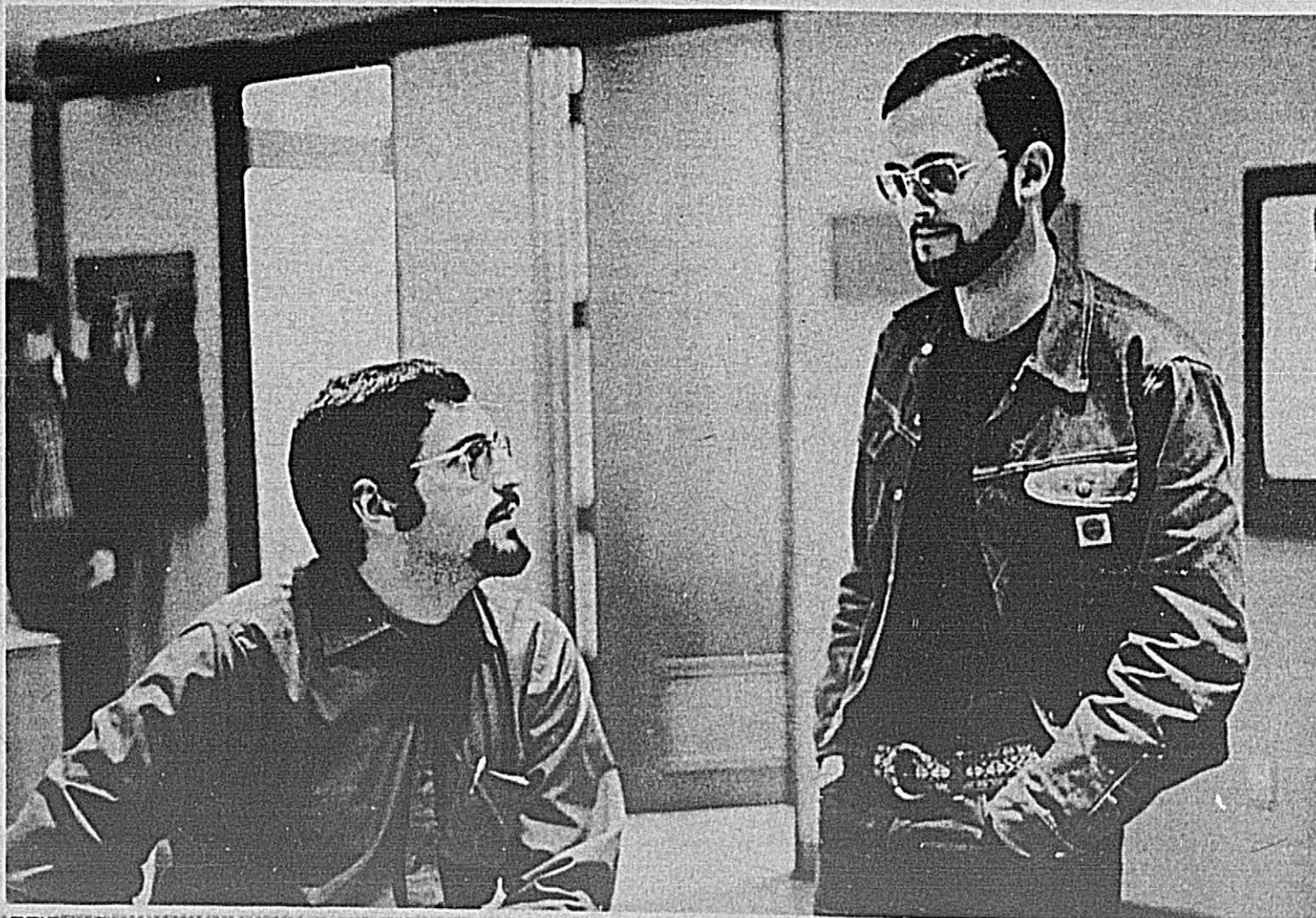
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The articles again emphasized the sections of the Handbook dealing with drugs, abortion and the legal aspects of demonstrations and picketing. The *Gazette* interpreted the legal section as "Tips on how to avoid being arrested during demonstrations," while the Handbook emphasizes that arrest should not be resisted under any circumstances.

"This is just another case of the commercial press deliberately confusing and exaggerating the issues to sell papers. The facts totally contradict the reports," said Ze'ev Ionis, co-editor of the Handbook.

The reaction to the Handbook continued on television and radio. CBC TV interviewed Pomerantz, who also participated on a CKGM-AM radio talk show.

Although the Handbook has not been widely read off campus, public reaction has been immediate, widespread and generally vitriolic.



ZE'EV IONIS and NIGEL GIBSON: Blimey, that's meshugene.

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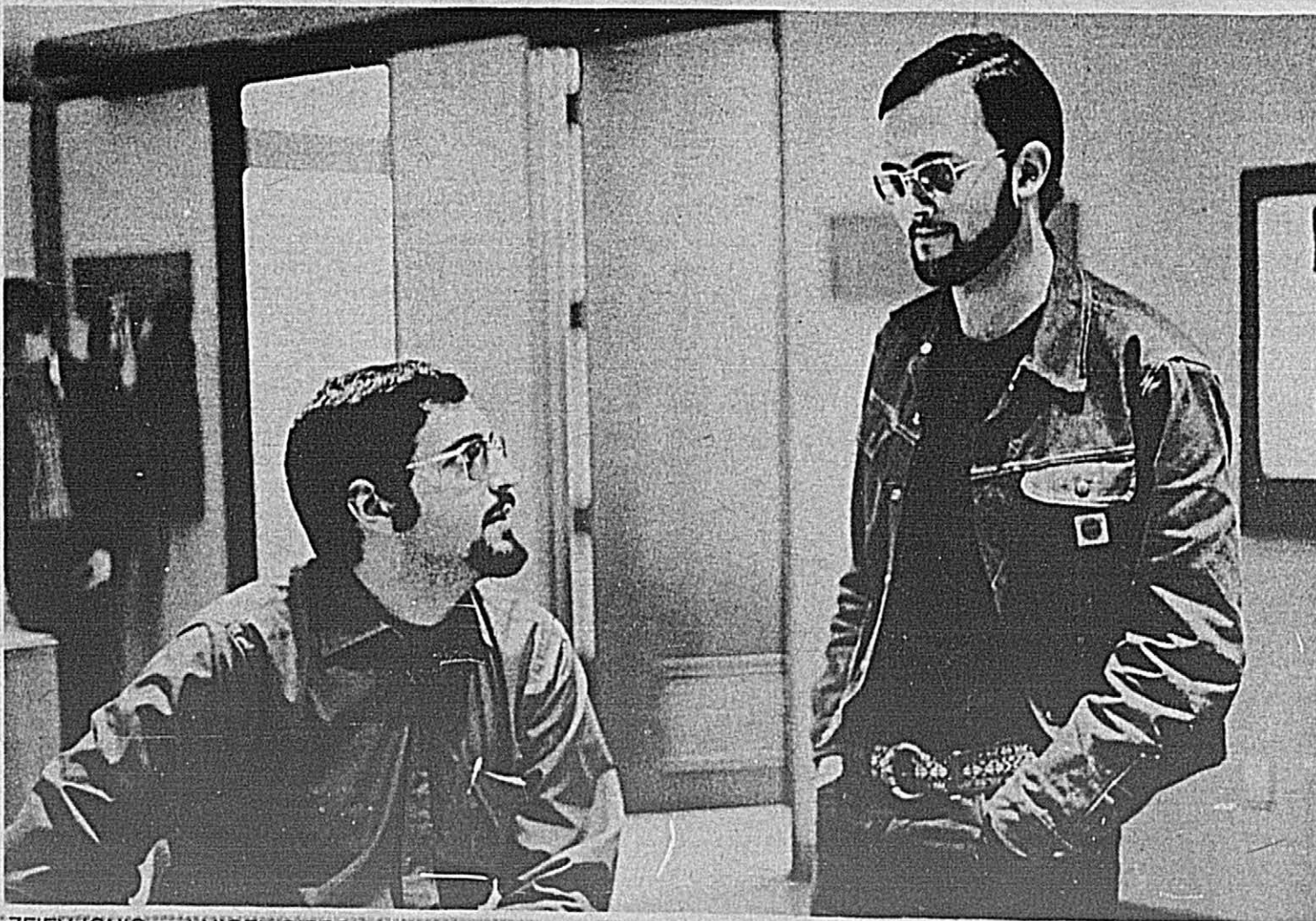
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by john crenson

"Justice" for the FLQ



on the jury. The judges in the FLQ trials rejected these arguments.

The trials of the alleged kidnappers and killers of Pierre Laporte received more attention from the bourgeois press. The accused include the brothers Paul and Jacques Rose, Francis Simard, Bernard Lortie and Michel Viger. Only Paul Rose and Simard have been convicted so far. They received life sentences which are being appealed. Viger was sentenced to eight years for allegedly harboring Simard and Rose.

All convictions on the murder charge are being appealed on the basis of procedural and other irregularities. Defense lawyer Robert Lemieux stated last July that security measures taken by the court "created a climate in no uncertain terms prejudicial to equitable, serene, and total justice." Presently, the Roses, Simard and Lortie are facing kidnapping charges in the courts. Lortie, who has no lawyer, claimed that prison authorities have hampered him in his efforts to prepare a defense. He was unable to get writing materials at the prison. He has also objected to the scheduling of his kidnapping trial before his murder trial.

Again, the Crown has been unable to link up the FLQ cell which kidnapped Pierre Laporte with other cells involved in the 'Grand Conspiracy' to create revolution in Québec. The cell which kidnapped Cross was unaware that Laporte would also be kidnapped. The former cell learned of Laporte's abduction at the same time that the rest of the world was informed. According to Cross, who was watching television with some of his kidnappers at the time of the announcement of Laporte's abduction, his captors reacted with shocked but happy surprise.

The trials which hold the greatest significance for the radical separatist movement are probably those of the 'Cinq', the so-called 'leaders' of the Front de libération du Québec. Included among the five are Michel Chartrand, President of the Montréal council of the Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux; Pierre Vallières, author of the long-banned *Nègres Blanc d'Amérique*; a book detailing the exploitation of Québécois, Charles Gagnon, a former sociology professor at the Université de Montréal; Jacques Larue-Langlois, an ex-Radio Canada broadcaster, and finally Robert Lemieux, a radical lawyer, who has defended many of those arrested last October.

Michel Chartrand is no stranger to the Québec court-

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revolution in Québec. The jury, however, did not seem to consider the writing very libellous or seditious and Langevin was acquitted.

The trial of Côme Leblanc exposed police brutality during the crisis and some of the inequities in the judicial system. Leblanc was accused of belonging to an 'illegal association' and of having distributed propaganda supporting its aims. The prosecution produced a confession signed by the accused, but Leblanc denied the charges, claiming that he had been forced to sign it after interrogations by police. To illustrate the atmosphere of police 'interrogations', the defense called Raymond Cormier who described how police had beaten him up in order to make him confess to the robbery of a Saint-Hubert restaurant. He had also been forced to 'admit' that he had hidden two fugitives during the October crisis and that he had planned the construction of a guerrilla camp in Northern Manitoba: "I never looked at what I signed, I was tired, not

having slept for forty eight hours. I simply wanted to sleep and have peace."

Leblanc, Boisjoly and Cormier were accused of illegally distributing the FLQ manifesto on October fifteenth, though it was not till the sixteenth that the FLQ was outlawed. On this basis, the defense argued that the accused were not guilty at the time they handed out the manifesto to students in Trois-Rivières and Shawinigan. The charge was thrown out.

An interesting element in the trials was the composition and selection of the jurors. No women were allowed to sit on the jury and most of the jurors were middle-aged, middle-class males. This inequality was frequently pointed out by the defense which demanded a much broader representation

ruling were Michel Chartrand, Lise Balcer, Pierre Vallières and Charles Gagnon.

The declaration of *nolle prosequi* brought a final dismissal of charges against those who were picked up and detained under the War Measures Act. Those felquistes accused of the kidnapping and murder of Pierre Laporte are still facing charges resulting from the crisis. The government invoked the WMA on the pretext of an alleged state of "apprehended insurrection" existing in Québec. The invocation of the Act eventually led to the suspension of civil rights and the imprisonment of those suspected of conspiracy against the government. To date, the government has provided little tangible proof that this conspiracy did in fact exist.

The FLQ trials can be divided into three segments: the trials of the rank and file felquistes, the trials of the members of the FLQ cell who allegedly kidnapped and killed Pierre Laporte, and the trials of the 'Five', Michel Chartrand, Charles Gagnon, Pierre Vallières, Jacques Larue-Langlois and Robert Lemieux.

The first felquistes to stand trial were Robert Langevin, Côme Leblanc, the brothers Raymond and Gilles Cormier and Jean Boisjoly, all active radicals. Langevin was the first to be tried for 'seditious libel'. At the trial, Constable Bernard Frechette of the Montréal Police claimed that he had found 'subversive literature' bearing Langevin's name in Leblanc's apartment. The most important piece of evidence, entitled "Opération Québec au Combat", outlined plans for a

Charges brought against those accused of belonging to the Front de libération du Québec have been tentatively dropped by the Québec Justice Department. The charges can be re-introduced anytime.

According to Justice Minister Jérôme Choquette, there were two main reasons for the decision. The Public Order Act (1970) which provided for imprisonment without trial of suspected FLQ members expired on April 30, 1971, and hence, "It was not legal to seek the conviction of persons for infractions which no longer existed at the time of their trials. Furthermore, it was not reasonable to presume that a jury would have held a person responsible for an infraction which no longer was one. Consequently, it was no longer in the public interest to proceed with the trials which would involve considerable costs for crimes which no longer exist." The procedure used by Choquette is known as *nolle prosequi* and it usually constitutes a final abandonment of the charge. But it also allows for the collection of more "evidence" in anticipation of future political crises.

A spokesman for the thirty-two accused denounced the *nolle prosequi* measure and demanded that the government continue with the trials. The defendants were confident of an acquittal because the Crown had no proof against them. "We consider *nolle prosequi* ruling contrary to the Canadian Bill of Rights which provides that each accused citizen has the right to a full and complete defense before his equals and therefore to acquittal at trial." Among those affected by the



China not playing big power role —Noumoff

interview by robert wallace

now acting as a great power in the same way as the United States and the Soviet Union are? These are the kind of questions that people are concerned with. And the Chinese have said things which indicate that they are completely prepared to continue to support world revolutionary movements, without any hesitation at all.

Following the disclosures of the Pentagon Papers the feelings of the Chinese are that no government in the world can again count on the sustained support of the United States government. If Chiang Kai Shek, whom the Americans have been supporting since the 30's, could not rely upon the American administration in the final analysis for total support; if Nixon sold out Chiang Kai Shek and the Kuomintang by going to China and violating their basic principle that they are the representatives of Free China; then no one again will ever have any faith in the word of the American government. U.S. credibility is absolutely and totally undermined in all of the world as a consequence. This is very much their feeling.

The Nixon visit also undermines the relationship between the U.S. government and the Kuomintang, which leaves Taiwan ultimately no place to go except to turn to China.

Daily: Does this mean that China now feels free to take advantage of U.S. weakness by making deals with all sorts of regimes, even reactionary ones?

Noumoff: Not at all. China has taken the position that the first and primary question is the necessity to normalize relations by the American withdrawal from Indochina. They place that as the prime question. That it is the prime question—when certainly Taiwan has been an outstanding issue for many years—reflects their position very clearly.

Daily: In other words Indochina is given priority over the Taiwan issue?

Noumoff: Yes. But there are other questions in regard to the visit. For example, Nixon has always been a critic of Americans travelling to China. Can he raise this question again when he himself has gone? Clearly not. His objections would disappear by definition. What kind of situation is the United States in today economically? Does this in any way contribute to a further isolation of the most reactionary elements in the United States government? The other question is, why didn't they do it in a slow way and go up through the Secretary of State level—prime minister level and then end up in the traditional manner with a final meeting that would bring about results. The analysis I can bring to this is that they feel they have to go

to Nixon immediately and thereby require him to be known throughout the world either as a man of peace, as he's trying to project, or as a person who is prepared to be completely unreasonable, either in terms of the Indochina war or in terms of other basic issues. They also put the issue of Korea in there. Now the extent to which negotiations will proceed for an American withdrawal from Indochina, from Taiwan and Korea . . . this remains open to question. But they've placed the emphasis not upon their own territory but upon the territory of other countries that the U.S. has occupied. The conclusion seems to be clear.

Daily: How can they negotiate effectively on Indochina without the presence of the representatives of Hanoi or the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet Nam?

Noumoff: Both the Chinese and the Vietnamese stated to me that under no conditions could a settlement be arrived at over the Indochina war—and it's not only Viet Nam, it's Cambodia and Laos as well—without bilateral negotiations between the American administration and the representatives of the people of those three countries. As a consequence of that, the Chinese have said clearly that as long as there's one American soldier in Indochina they are going to continue their military, diplomatic and economic support of the Pathet Lao, the Royal Government of Cambodia, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. They indicated they are going to make the position very clear to Nixon and they have already made it very clear in interviews with the

Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars and with James Reston (of the New York Times). I noticed no divergence in either Peking or Hanoi between their positions as to whom the Americans are going to have to deal with over the Indochina war.

Daily: Then there's no question that China still regards the United States as the number one enemy?

Noumoff: As long as the U.S. troops are in South Korea, are in all the countries of Indochina, occupying Taiwan, the United States is a major threat. The Soviet Union situation is quite clear in terms of their hostility to China but the United States still remains a prime enemy and the threat of Japanese militarism, which is viewed as the pinnacle of the Nixon doctrine, is also of absolutely critical concern to the Chinese. There was one person who said that there were four fundamental errors that the U.S. has made in Asia in the last number of years. The first was support of the Kuomintang. The second was involving itself in the Korean War. The third was getting involved in the war in Indochina. The fourth was rearming Japan. These are errors that have cost the US substantially and which will continue to cost the US—politically, economically and diplomatically. There's a much greater contestation likely between Japan and the U.S. than between China and the U.S., in terms of the immediate future. The Chinese see that the U.S. is supporting a rearmed, re-militarized Japan which is likely to threaten all of Asia and which is likely to threaten the U.S. as well. The perception is that the U.S. is engaged again in a policy which is possibly inevitable but nonetheless very stupid from its own point of view.

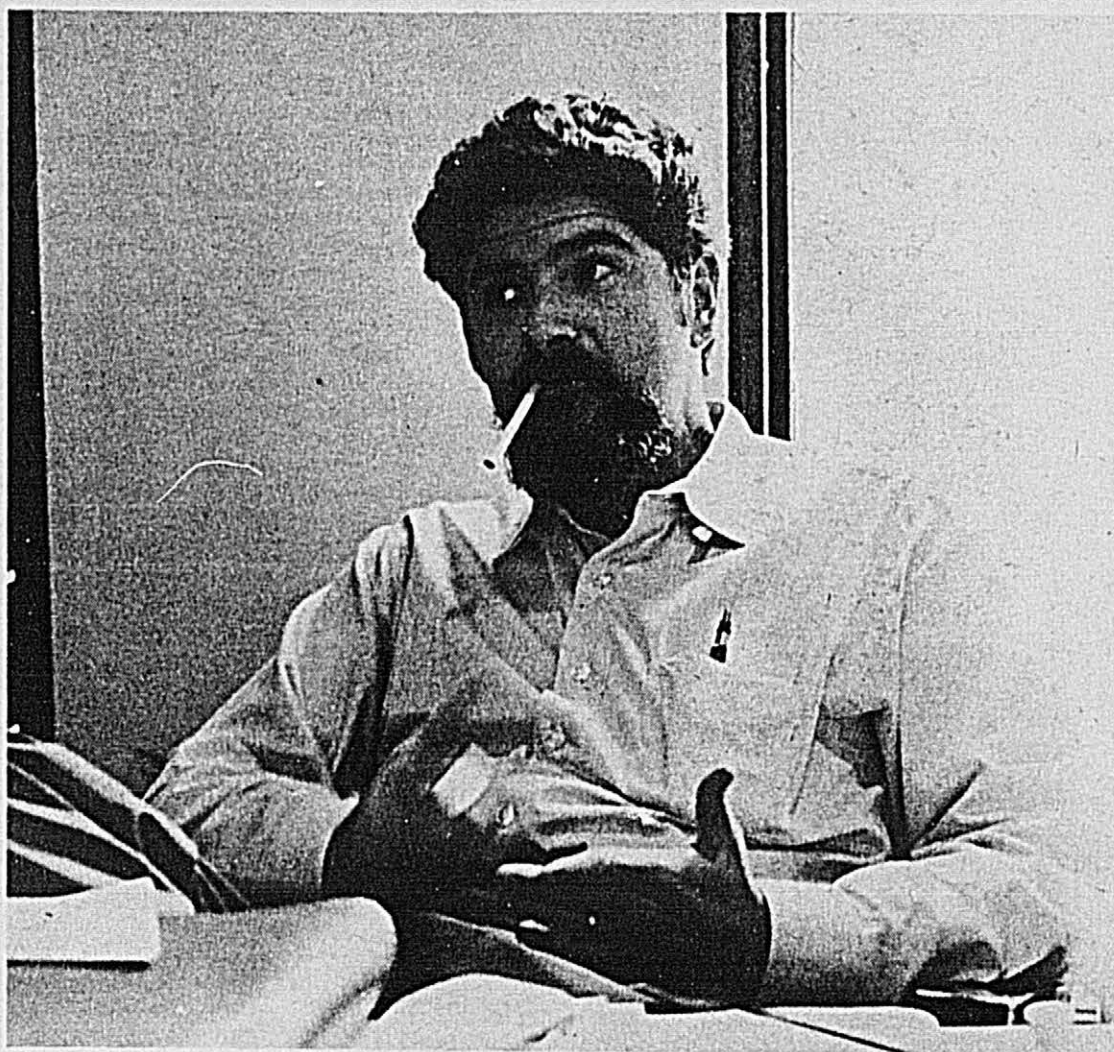
Daily: Did you get any insight into the Chinese perception of

what is going on in Pakistan?

Noumoff: Their feeling is that the movement in East Pakistan has never displayed itself as a progressive movement and that irrespective of other considerations, they have never taken the perspective that all movements that claim to be movements of national liberation are by definition worthy of their support, for whatever that may be worth. They are prepared to make an assessment on the basis of whether a movement that calls itself a movement of national liberation is a progressive movement or a conservative movement. And if it's a conservative movement, then they feel there is no reason they have to support it ideologically or politically. If it's a progressive movement, then it seems that they are prepared to support it. Then the question arises, is the movement of Bangla Desh or East Pakistan a progressive movement? I saw the copies of the only English-language newspaper produced by the Bangla Desh movement when I was in Hanoi from an individual who had just returned from India. I think from looking at those newspapers that one could call into question whether or not that movement can be called progressive on any standard. That's the first point.

Second question is, has China actively supported the activities of the Pakistan government, and some have claimed that it has. From what I understand it has continued to ship arms to the central government of Pakistan. Whether or

Continued on page 7



What follows is an interview with Professor Samuel Noumoff of the McGill political science department. Noumoff last week returned from a nine-week trip to China and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. He visited ten cities and their environs in China, and the Hanoi area and Tran Hua province in the DRV. Among the people Noumoff talked to were officials of the Cambodian government-in-exile, the DRV and the Lao Patriotic Front.

This interview deals mostly with Chinese foreign policy. In a second interview (to be published next week) Noumoff will speak of his experiences in Viet Nam and of his conversations with Laotian and Cambodian officials.

Daily: Did you learn anything about Chinese thinking on President Nixon's visit?

Noumoff: There are some basic questions hanging over the Nixon visit: Has China betrayed the revolution and the revolutionary movement? Are they

Continued from page 6

not by that action it can be assumed that they are supporting the actions of the Pakistan government may be open to some question. I'm not persuaded necessarily that they are. Even in these Bangla Desh newspapers themselves, they may have attributed motives on the other side but the issue is not that clearcut. There were communal tensions that did build up and both sides of the contest engaged in not terribly pleasant action toward each other.

The question is, how can one stop the activity which is

viewed as inhumane that's going on in East Pakistan and at the same time recognize that the politics of the situation require a very clear-cut position. Let me give you one example. One of the Bangla Desh newspapers I read stated that it was the position of the Bangla Desh movement that the Arab countries would be buffaloed by Pakistan in the name of Pan-Islam and that the Arab countries that were supporting Pakistan should in fact be supporting Bangla Desh. The next paragraph went on to say: However, the Jew press in New York, such as the New York Times, seems to be supporting the Bangla Desh movement,

and therefore it is necessary for the people of Bangla Desh to reassess their attitude towards Israel. Then they sort of left an exclamation point. This doesn't in any way speak to the savagery that is going on in East Pakistan but it does raise the question as to what the political character of those individuals who are presently controlling the East Pakistan or Bangla Desh movement really is. What they stand for. That seems to be the critical question.

Daily: What about the role of India in the conflict in Pakistan? **Noumoff:** The Chinese have said on a number of occasions that they felt that there was an Indian provocation there from the very beginning. The difficulty in analyzing this problem is that there are two dimensions. There's the human dimension, the people who find themselves fleeing from their homes, reporting incidents of absolutely inhumane savagery. And in addition there's the dimension of trying to fix responsibility as to who created the circumstances which led to the present situation in East Pakistan. These seem to me to be two separate issues. On the question of people being brutalized, I don't think there's an individual on the face of this earth who can stand up and say he is in favor of those kinds of activities. But it's much more complex to begin to assess where the responsibility lay which led to this kind of situation... people fleeing from their homes... a sense of an army moving in and summarily executing people. These are quite separate issues. On the human issue, in this sense, there is a uniform position. In evaluating the political character of the movement that has taken up resistance against Pakistan, I think there are questions.



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Continued from page 5

room. He has spent the last thirty years fighting economic exploitation in Québec as well as reactionary governments like Duplessis' in Québec City. He has organized and participated in the well-known strikes at Murdochville and Asbestos; he has been arrested, beaten-up and imprisoned on many different occasions, and has stubbornly made himself a bone in the throats of Ottawa, Québec City and the Anglo-American conglomerates which own the province. Chartrand's volatile speeches have earned him many enemies in the government and when the WMA was invoked last fall, he was one of the first to be picked up and detained. He was held without bail for over five months.

Vallières, Gagnon and Larue-Langlois have long been involved in the independentist movement. Vallières, who recently went underground, worked with Pierre Trudeau on the magazine *Cité Libre* ten years ago, but the two parted company when Vallières began taking a left-wing, independentist stance. In 1966 Gagnon and Vallières picketed the United Nations building in New York to protest the treatment of French Canadians, but were deported to Canada the same year to face charges connected with a bombing death attributed to the FLQ. The revolutionary author found himself brought up on sedition charges and imprisoned the following year for *Nègres Blancs d'Amérique* which has since enjoyed a wide circulation.

The five were faced with a smorgasbord of charges including seditious conspiracy and membership in the FLQ. The seditious conspiracy charge was thrown out after the Crown proved unable to document its claim about the existence of a conspiracy to overthrow the government in Québec. The case against those accused of belonging to the FLQ has been dropped for the moment.

Where are Jean Marchand's 3,000 terrorists? Where is there evidence of Robert Bourassa's four-stage plan to take over Québec, the provisional government plot? It is now obvious that there were other reasons behind the government's invocation of the War Measures Act and the armed-occupation of Québec.

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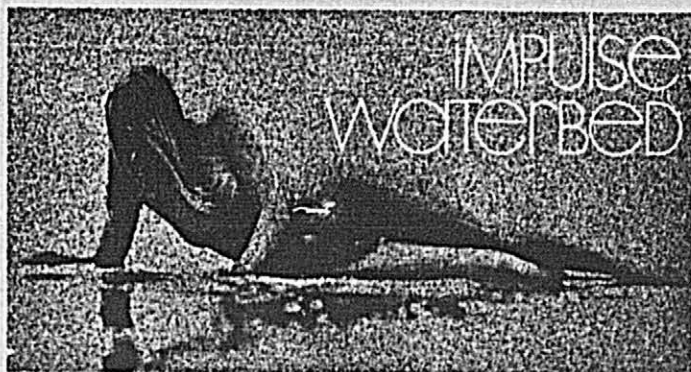
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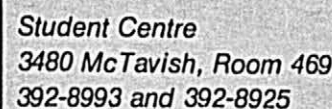
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Bolivia: learning the need for armed struggle

by nigel gibson

On August 21, reactionary forces in Bolivia seized control of the country after a short but bloody coup, overthrowing the left-leaning government of General Juan Jose Torres, and naming right-winger General Hugo Banzer as new president of Bolivia's four million people.

The two days of fighting saw instances of heroic resistance on the part of small, poorly armed groups of workers and students. However, the dynamite sticks of the miners and the .22 calibre rifles of the students were no match for the planes, tanks and heavy artillery of the reactionary forces. Hundreds of students were slaughtered when they barricaded themselves in the University in a vain attempt at resistance.

Even as his soldiers hunted down workers and students across the country, Banzer went on radio and TV to speak of "conciliation" and "national unity", and to promise a policy of "neither left nor right." A rather curious statement from a man whose background includes early military training by German Nazi Party military experts, as well as refresher courses in counter-insurgency at the U.S. Army school in Panama in 1955, and the Armored Cavalry School at Fort Hood Texas in 1960.

Liberals around the world have predictably come out as strongly as they ever could come out, condemning the revolt, "deploring" the violence, and urging "a quick return to constitutional normality".

Their lamentation, however, has had the effect of obscuring the really significant effects of the fascist coup on the future of the tactics and direction of various liberation movements across Latin America.

To understand this, it is necessary to go back to the period immediately following Che Guevara's death in the Bolivian hills in 1967.

Che's ill-fated venture served to radicalize much of the peasant body, and the ensuing popular agitation forced the military, the same generals who had ordered him murdered, to espouse nationalistic policies.

Thus, General Alfredo Ovando Candia, one of the brains behind the 1967 anti-guerrilla war, expropriated the Santa Cruz oil fields from Gulf in 1969 while he was President. Ovando also gave a bigger voice to the powerful Miners' Federation (COB) in the country's state mining corporation.

However, when in May 1970 the COB held its fourth National Congress and voted to demand that Bolivia begin the transition towards socialism through rule by a popular assembly, Ovando backed down hastily. In October he was overthrown by Juan Jose Torres. Like his predecessor, Torres cannot be regarded as anything more than a political opportunist. Under pressure from progressive groups and anxious to gain popular support, Torres nationalized more U.S. holdings, threw the Peace Corps out of Bolivia, and made contact with the Army of National Liberation, an urban guerrilla group. When right-wing military unrest threatened, Torres was forced to convocate a popular assembly.

Thousands of peasants and miners from all over Bolivia flocked to La Paz brandishing Mausers and dynamite sticks, and after occupying the legislative palace proclaimed America's first soviet.

The popular assembly voted to establish diplomatic relations with Chile and Cuba, to cancel all concessions to foreign companies, to expel all U.S. military and intelligence personnel, to develop the country's infrastructure, and to make all salaries equitable.

The popular assembly did not depose Torres but it ordered him to proceed with its decisions and threatened general strikes if he did not act fast enough. Time, however, was running out for Torres. Military men in Brazil and Argentina met with their Bolivian counterparts to discuss ways of halting the spread of "godless communism."

The ubiquitous CIA handled the general planning—forty-eight hours before the Santa Cruz uprising, where Banzer's forces began their coup, the U.S. embassy in La Paz instructed its person-

nel and all American citizens residing in Bolivia to store food and not to leave their homes for the next few days.

Torres must have realised where the danger lay; being a political opportunist, however, the petit-bourgeois general could never bring himself to link his fate to the destiny of the miners and peasants of his land.

For months, Torres resisted popular demands for weapons to create a people's military force to combat the increasing threat of fascism. The armed forces opposed the creation of a popular military force, and Torres believed his chiefs of staff, who assured him of their loyalty if he did not give arms to the people.

The chiefs of staff need not have worried, for Torres realized very well that there would be no place for him in an authentic workers' state, and that once the workers were armed it would only be a matter of time before the reins of power would be out of his hands.

When Torres finally decided to give some arms to the people of La Paz, the coup was already in motion, and it was too late; the workers never stood a chance.

The Bolivian experience has served to reinforce the position of the different liberation movements across Latin America who have grasped the essential truth that only through armed struggle can a truly radical social change be effected.

The notion that the bourgeoisie will be willing to step down from the privileged position it now holds and yield to a government of the proletariat, in other words cut its own throat, has once again been shown to be merely an illusion.

The lesson of the Bolivian people has been well-learned in Latin America. Even as President Allende in neighbouring

Chile stumps the country and the continent, soothing the ruffled feathers of the military and allaying the fears of a "Marxist take-over", the Leftist Revolutionary Movement (MIR) has been working for some time in the mountains creating a peasant base.

Should the forces of reaction overthrow the government at any time in the future, they will not find it as easy as they did in Bolivia. Instead, they will encounter a well-organized peasant army capable of effective and prolonged struggle.

In Uruguay the Tupamaros are keeping a close eye on the results of the upcoming November general elections.

The Tupamaros have given their support to the Frente Amplio, a broad coalition of left-wing parties. Despite a slanderous campaign against it in the bourgeois press, the Frente Amplio has become the front runner, so much so that there is talk of military intervention.

Should this occur, the Tupamaros will be ready for it; there will not be another Bolivia there.

The Bolivian people have lost a battle, but they have not been defeated. Now, at last, the miners and peasants may realise that they will have to fight for their revolution. Ernesto Che Guevara realized this when he came to fight and die in the Bolivian jungle. It took the people of Bolivia a little longer; but the struggle has just begun.



Amin Kassam

American imperialism's new economic policy

Last month, the world's most advanced capitalist country, the United States, confessed to a situation that had been apparent to most people for some time—that it was in the throes of yet another economic recession, the fourteenth since the beginning of this century, or an average of one every five years.

President Richard Nixon startled the rest of the capitalist world by announcing that he was about to renege on every major economic agreement the U.S. had made with its allies since 1944. There were four primary elements in his new policy:

■ The U.S. would no longer abide by the Bretton Woods agreement of 1944, when the Americans had pledged to exchange dollars for gold at a fixed rate of \$35 to the ounce, come hell or high water, in effect making the dollar the basis of the international monetary system.

■ The U.S. would impose a surcharge of 10% on most imports, in blatant violation of the International General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

■ Nixon made it clear that the U.S. wanted other countries to bear a larger portion of the costs of the nuclear umbrella over Western Europe, referring to these costs as "the burden of freedom around the world."

■ Nixon also had a special provision for his poorer allies—he had ordered a 10% reduction in foreign aid. Significantly, he made no mention of cuts in military aid.

Nor did the domestic economy escape the president's eagle eye. Calling upon "the greatness of a great people" which, he said, was necessary "to create a new prosperity without war," he unleashed a package of measures directed against low-income groups. The aim of these moves was to "revitalize that faith in ourselves that built a great nation in the past":

■ First, he announced a "temporary" freeze on prices and wages, neglecting to mention that some prices would not be fixed.

■ Second, he announced the repeal of the 7% excise tax on automobiles. This would, he claimed, save the consumer \$200 per car. In view of a price increase of \$200 per car by General Motors just before August 14, the president's generosity was touching.

■ Third, he announced that Americans would be able to add \$50 to their tax exemptions, a measure which, he hoped, would result in increased consumer expenditure to the tune of \$2 billion. Even bourgeois economists like Robert Nathan and Walter Heller were skeptical of this, pointing out that the individual saving in taxes was insufficient.

■ Fourth, the president informed voters that federal spending would be reduced by \$4.7 billion. There would also be a 5% cut in government employment. Nixon obviously hoped that private money which had previously gone into financing the government deficit would now be

freed for "capital increment", i.e. buying more machinery and other capital resources. But obviously no company will add to its capital resources unless it expects a greater market for its products. The key was consumer spending, and it was precisely in that field that Nixon's policies were weak.

■ Finally, Nixon announced a 10% tax credit on new investment this year to be followed by a 5% credit from August 1972 onward. This seemed to be based upon the assumption that investment was declining because of a shortage of investment capital. Since American industry has been running at 73% of its normal capacity for some time, this assumption is obviously false. The tax will be a boon to entrepreneurs who will now be able to renovate their plants at the consumer's (i.e. the worker's) expense. Installation of new machinery means a rise in worker productivity. If consumer spending does not keep pace with the increase in productivity, it also means more unemployment.

The strength of the U.S. economy, like that of every dominant capitalist country, is based upon war-oriented production. The country's lowest unemployment rate in the last 25 years (4%) was reached during war time. The boom period of the sixties was accompanied by increased involvement in Vietnam. It is instructive to look at one example of how war-oriented production arising from an imperialist foreign policy ties the U.S. to what Nixon calls "the free world". The U.S. annually spends about \$30 billion dollars to retain its hold on Southeast Asia. Since its entry into the war, it has managed to completely disrupt the economies of South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, thus facilitating the entry of U.S. businesses into the area. The Americans are now suppliers not only of military equipment, but also of construction equipment, industrial goods—both consumption and capital—and foodstuffs. (Vietnam, which was once a major exporter of rice, now has to depend upon grain imports from the U.S.) Thus, all sectors of the American economy—business, agriculture,

industry, commerce, finance and labor—are tied to Southeast Asia.

American trade in arms is not limited to Southeast Asia. Among the other countries it has recently exported arms to are Pakistan, Greece, Argentina, Brazil, Spain, and Thailand. Of course, the U.S. also continues to maintain expensive military bases on Chinese territory, in effect committing territorial aggression on the flimsy pretext of defending "freedom".

porations, but also between the countries which spawned them. At the moment, the Nixon government, jealous of the success of Japanese companies (which are openly supported by their government in

the formation of cartels and other monopolies) and fearful of competition, advocates turning a blind eye to monopolistic practices. The government has no other alternative. Any decline in sales suffered by the huge American corporations would be reflected in the U.S. economy as a whole. Workers would continue to earn astronomical salaries. It is characteristic of capitalism that, in order to avoid adding to unemployment, the government is forced to promote inefficient firms and thus multiply the contradictions within the system.

Capitalist economies are inefficient on many other grounds. They can never attain full employment because capitalism is such an anarchistic and irrational system that a given economy's productive potential is never fully realized. One of the system's main faults is that it does not distinguish between productive and unproductive labor. The effect of this on the economy is well illustrated by Paul Baran's classic example of a baking corporation:

Assume that, in time period I, a bakery employs 100 men who produce 200 loaves. If the capitalist expropriates 50% of the product as his "reward", each worker receives one loaf of bread as his wage. Let us suppose that, in time period II, productivity rises by 525% so that 80 men can now produce a thousand loaves (the other twenty are employed in sales promotion and in keeping tabs on competitors). If the capitalist continues to take 50% of the product, each worker receives 5 loaves as his wage. Thus, the

The United States has developed to a very high—and the final—stage of capitalism, that of monopoly capitalism. This stage is characterized by the growth of multinational corporations which wield tremendous economic and political power and, to all intents and purposes, become independent states within the capitalist country. (In 1961 there were more than 80 companies in the U.S. whose assets had passed the billion dollar mark. They owned more than a third of all banking assets and 85% of all life-insurance assets.) Because of the ever-increasing concentration of resources in a few hands, the economy becomes more and more dependent upon the business decisions of a few companies. The treasurers of these corporations want to make profits and, to this end, they constantly engage in monetary speculation, shifting large amounts of capital to whatever country offers the highest return. Their governments do nothing to discourage such activities because speculation increases the home country's Gross National Product. When capitalist countries find themselves in economic difficulties, however, the blame is laid on an undefined and sinister group of speculators whom no one seems to be able to identify.

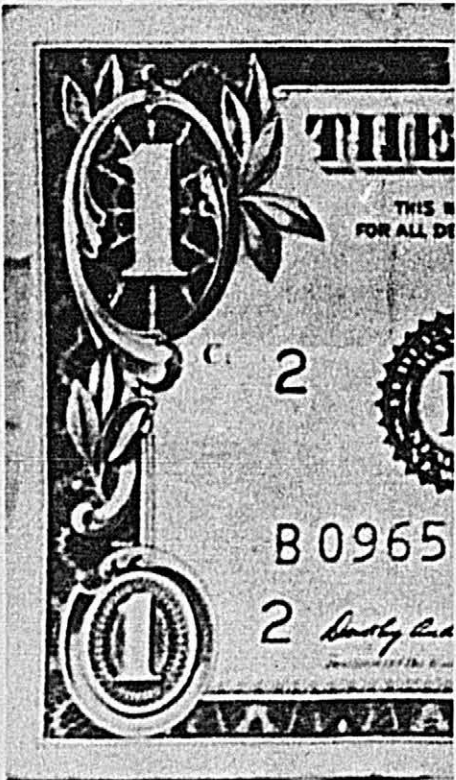
The profit motive is so strong that there is rivalry not only between cor-

Continued on page 13

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wage increase (400%) does not keep pace with the rise in productivity.

An important element in this example is the way in which it shows up statistical distortions in company and government reports. Although labor continues to receive 50 % of the product, wages lag behind productivity due to the existence of parasitic labor. Because of this factor, the share of the national income going to labor has remained constant over the years in spite of wage increases. Yet capitalist governments continually blame inflation upon labor, complaining that wage increases have far outpaced productivity!



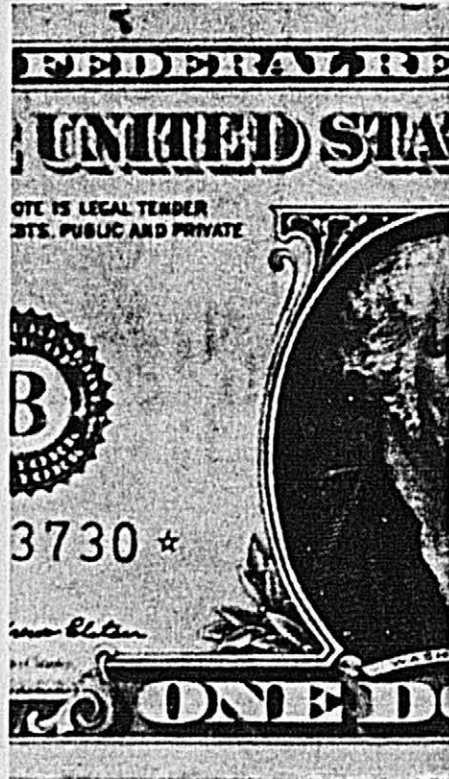
The limitations of its structure also prevent a capitalist economy from making the most efficient use of available resources since much output is necessarily wasted and economic surplus is never fully realized.

There are two kinds of surplus in an economy. First, there is what Baran calls *actual surplus*, that is, the difference between actual current output and actual current consumption. This economic surplus includes items such as capital increments, foreign balances, gold hoards and liquid capital in the form of savings. *Potential surplus* is the difference between the output that could be produced in a given technological environment with the help of employable productive resources, material and human, and essential consumption. Potential surplus can never be fully realized in a capitalist economy for several reasons:

■ As a capitalist system develops, it brings into existence an increasing amount of unproductive labor, thus causing a waste of resources.

■ Competition leads to duplication in production when several firms try to supply the same market. More output is lost in this way. Capitalist competition also leads to overproduction with the result that firms waste billions of dollars trying to make consumers believe that their products are the best on the market. This brings even more unproductive workers into being.

■ A great deal of output is also lost through the existence of idle resources. In the capitalist system, two factors ensure that full employment is never achieved: first, the economic dislocation caused by shifts in demand which are precipitated by advertising campaigns;



second, the introduction of capital intensive methods of production, which results in layoffs unless the rise in productivity is accompanied by an expansion of demand. In the U.S., this condition has been met by the creation of artificial demand through advertising and the build-up of overseas markets.

■ Unemployment is also caused when the contradictions of capitalist society manifest themselves in violent economic spasms, euphemistically referred to as "business downturns". A fall in demand leads to the laying off of labor and productive forces remain idle for long periods of time, resulting in considerable loss of output (had the workers unemployed between 1929 and 1939 been given work, for example, the U.S. national income would have increased by \$293 billion).

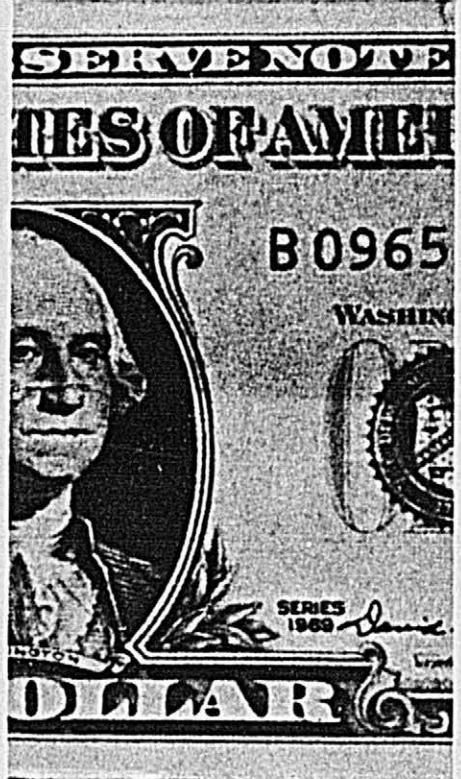
■ Finally, output is lost through the excess consumption characteristic of a capitalist society. The only priority in capitalist economics is that of profit; hence, all goods that bring the capitalist a profit are "productive". Gimmicky luxury items are one example of excess consumption. Resources that could have been put into essential production are wasted.

Since available statistics for capitalist economies make no distinction between productive and unproductive labor, a thorough critique would require prodigious research and facilities beyond the scope of this article. However, capitalism in the U.S. has reached such a stage of development that even a critique based upon the available data suffices to show the weaknesses of the system.

The American economy experienced a boom during World War I by making loans to European countries. While the war lasted, money was loaned for arms. Later, the Americans made loans to enable the European nations to repair their war-damaged economies. The U.S. insisted that repayments be made only in gold. In order to raise money to repay the loans, European countries issued bonds which they tried to sell in the U.S. stock

market. By investing in the bonds, the Americans were in effect loaning more money overseas. While all this was going on, the U.S. was moving on its characteristic roller-coaster course, alternating between brief bursts of prosperity followed by recessions. In 1921, it experienced a depression that led to considerable unemployment and economic dislocation. From then until 1929, the only thing holding the economy together was the stock market. That year, the stock market fell apart, leading to the collapse of all capitalist economies.

The Second World War destroyed Europe's capital resources. Not only could European nations not produce enough to satisfy domestic consumer

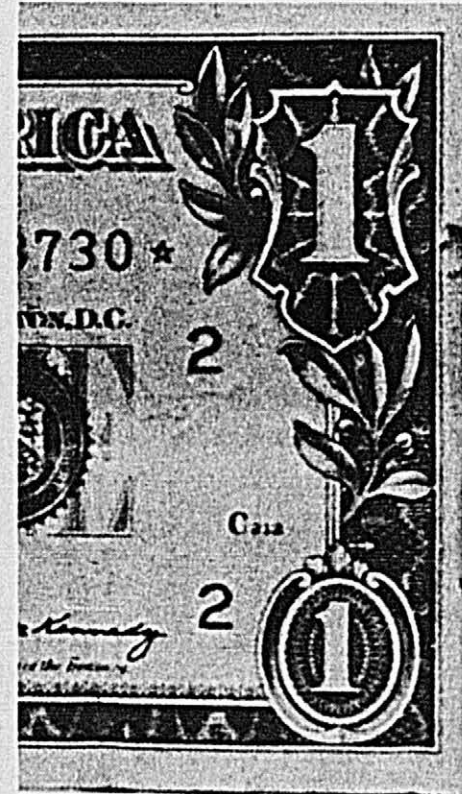


demand, but they were also too poor to pay for imports. Once again, the Americans came to the rescue, this time with the Marshall Plan, which would inject billions of American dollars into Europe. The U.S. piously proclaimed its wish to see European countries at a stage of development where their industries could compete successfully with U.S. firms.

A similar reconstruction arrangement was proposed to Japan, but the Japanese proved less gullible. They insisted on having tariff walls and an open market for Japanese goods in the U.S. This was an important factor in Japan's spectacular success in creating a capitalist machine that was later to challenge American industries on their home ground.

The business boom continued in the U.S. as a result of the Korean war, which was the first step toward U.S. entanglement in Asia. After the Korean war, the Americans increased the level of their aggression in Vietnam, first through financial aid coupled with "military advisors", and later with troop buildups and bombing.

As long as other capitalist countries were still in the process of reconstructing their industries, the U.S. continued to enjoy a position of commercial and military dominance in the world. American exporters took full advantage of this situation. At the same time, the upkeep of American troops abroad as well as the cost of inciting counter-revolutions in the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, and



fighting wars to keep puppet regimes in power, created an outflow of dollars. The money spent on such military ventures soon created a continuous deficit in the U.S. balance of payments.

War-damaged capitalist factories overseas were soon rebuilt with more efficient machinery. As Japanese and German products became more competitive on the world market, U.S. multinational corporations found their sales declining. The Common Market countries also realized that, as long as American agricultural goods (which were subsidized by the government) were imported, their own agricultural sectors would remain undeveloped. Therefore, the Europeans increased import duties on these goods, using the extra money thus earned to subsidize their own farmers. At the same time, they moved away from dependence on the U.S. by giving preferential treatment to 24 African and Mediterranean countries.

The outflow of American dollars created inflation abroad and resulted in monetary crisis (in the last seven years, there has been an average of one international monetary crisis a year). The European countries were faced with falling demand and, in search of new markets, they began an export drive in the U.S.'s traditional preserves. Agricultural products were dumped in Britain, Japan and Taiwan, and Common Market products also began entering the U.S. in ever-increasing numbers. In the six-year period 1964-1970, the U.S.'s imports rose by 90%. Japan jumped into the act and began deluging the U.S. with textiles, steel and cars (before the surcharge, Japanese cars accounted for 33% of all automobile sales in California). Imports of television sets rose by 30%, footwear by 33%, automobiles by

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MCGILL DAILY

The McGill Daily is published five times a week by the Students' Society of McGill University, 3480 McTavish Street, Montreal 112. Editorial opinions expressed in these pages are not necessarily the official opinions of the Students' Society.

The McGill Daily is a sustaining subscriber of l'Agence Presse Libre du Québec, a subscriber to Liberation News Service and a member of Canadian University Press. Editorial offices: 392-8955. Advertising office: 392-8902.

Editor: Tom Sorell
Advertising Manager: Victor Loewy

PAUT QU'EN SORTO

C'est parti

"La première liberté est de vouloir, pouvoir, savoir parler à qui l'on veut, quand on veut, comme on veut, de koskonveu dans la langue du Kebek. A un moment donné TOULMONDE est demandé au parloir."

—Raoul Luoar Yaugud Duguay

Il est important que la communauté anglophone adopte une attitude précise à propos de l'avenir politique du Québec. Le temps de la prise de conscience est terminé. Maintenant seul compte l'action.

C'est pourquoi le McGill Daily a décidé d'engager le dialogue avec tous les groupes progressistes du Québec. Cette initiative doit permettre aux québécois anglophones d'articuler leur pensée autour d'un organe d'information non contrôlé par la presse officielle. C'est la double mission du journal. Cette prise de position se veut une rupture. Nous ne voulons plus naviguer dans les eaux troubles où stagnent les opinions les plus diverses dans une coexistence pacifique, une sorte de "no man's land du dialogue". Nous affirmons la nécessité historique du socialisme inséré dans la conjoncture qui est la nôtre : la formation sociale québécoise.

Dans cette nouvelle rubrique, rédigée exclusivement en français, un groupe de rédacteurs va tenter de répondre avec précision à la question (déjà dépassé pour de nombreux québécois) "What does Quebec want?". Il ne s'agit pas de faire du recrutement pour le Parti Québécois, mais plutôt de montrer comment une indépendance non socialiste ne sera qu'une promotion pour une poignée de bourgeoisie nationalisants.

La libération nationale est une étape et non un but. Remplacer la domination d'une élite étrangère par celle d'une élite nationale, n'a rien d'une libération. L'indépendance du Québec est une question pratiquement résolue. Il s'agit de faire en sorte, une fois l'indépendance acquise, que le peuple québécois soit souverain et non victime des intérêts capitalistes.

Notre entreprise est un effort qui se joint à ceux des militants de la gauche québécois qui cherchent à organiser politiquement les éléments dispersés de la gauche révolutionnaire du Québec et à les relier concrètement aux différentes luttes populaires.

L'absence d'une organisation politique de masses rend impossible toute stratégie révolutionnaire et réduit les éléments de la gauche québécoise à se débattre dans la fausse option : "Le PQ oui ou non". C'est pourquoi il faut organiser les différents mouvements révolutionnaires. Pour la survie du peuple québécois et pour assurer une libération véritable il faut opposer au PQ une force populaire progressiste. Dans ce sens, les anglophones, au même titre que les francophones, se doivent d'agir. Une alliance de tous les groupes progressistes tant francophones qu'anglophones est nécessaire pour s'opposer à la force grandissante de la bourgeoisie nationale.

Il est urgent que tous les groupes conscients de la nécessité d'une telle union se concertent et engagent le dialogue. Voilà la raison pour laquelle, chaque fois qu'il sera possible, paraîtra en français, une courte étude abordant soit l'actualité, soit une question d'intérêt général. Cette double orientation est une mise en pratique du principe qui veut que l'analyse théorique ne se justifie que par son exclusive destination politique.

Seule une participation des étudiants de McGill peut rendre cette entreprise vivable. Tous ceux qui possèdent une maîtrise suffisante du français ont pour devoir de se manifester. La libération personnelle par l'expression est le premier pas vers la libération nationale.

Philippe Faucher

LETTERS

Daily - Letters

What follows is a series of letters concerning increases in insurance rates for foreign students at McGill. Kim Hin Pang, Engineering representative on Student Council and a foreign student, wrote to McGill's Finance Director, A. C. McColl, for an explanation of the university's policy. The Daily here prints the correspondence on this matter.

Letter to
A. C. McColl,
the university's
Director of
Finance Administration

Dear Mr. McColl:

McGill, as we know, has a large number of non-Canadian students. Each year, the university requires that all non-Canadian students be insured by a group Major Medical and Sickness Plan which has been arranged with the Canadian Premier Life Insurance Company. This is compulsory for all non-Canadian students irrespective of any other public or private insurance by which they may be covered.

In 1968-69, the premium was \$35 which rose to \$49 in 1969-70. In 1970-71, it was \$60 and for this current year, it will be \$79.

Being a member of the Students' Council, as well as a foreign student, I will be most grateful if an explanation for this annual increase in insurance premium be given, as well as whether any efforts were made on the part of the university to obtain insurance plans from other Insurance Companies other than Canadian Premier Life Insurance Company.

Kim Hin Pang

Pomerantz to Pang

Dear Kim:

With reference to your letter of August 18 concerning the Major Medical and Sickness Plan which has been arranged with the Canadian Premier Life Insurance Company for non-Canadian students, I am in some agreement with what you have to say on this issue.

On the other hand, I think it is important that we look at the historical effectiveness of such plans whether, if it is all that important whether the premium has gone up or whether there should be a Medical Sickness Plan at all, particularly in view of the fact that within the next couple of years the number of non-Canadian students, as far as I am concerned, will probably be declining. It might be a better idea that we take a look at the whole policy involved, particularly so that we can save some of the expenses for the non-Canadian students in the next couple of years, in view of the fact that there may be fewer, if any, students of non-Canadian origin within the next five years.

It is something that I will stay on top of, and I am very pleased that you have brought it to everyone's attention. I am certain that we can expect a researched and positive response from Mr. McColl.

Richard Pomerantz
President, Students' Society

Pang to Pomerantz

Dear Mr. Pomerantz:

I thank you for your letter dated August 20, 1971, concerning the Major Medical and Sickness Plan for non-Canadian Students.

While I agree with you wholeheartedly that we should take a look at the whole policy involved, I would also like to stress the fact that it is very important that non-Canadian Students should be covered by an

Insurance Plan of some nature. Students' Society should persuade the Administration to make the Insurance Plan by Canadian Premier Life Insurance Company optional to the non-Canadian Students, and at the same time making it compulsory for non-Canadian Students to obtain Insurance of some kind.

I beg to differ on the importance of the increase in the Insurance Premium and I feel very strongly that this annual increase of Insurance Premium without any explanation whatsoever on the part of the University is in poor taste and through sheer lack of style at the same time, rather insulting not only to the non-Canadian Students but also to the Students' Society. This partly stems from the Administration's continued disregard for the interest of foreign students in this issue and, if I may add, the Students' Council was definitely not blameless in the past.

Kim Hin Pang

McColl to Pang

Dear Mr. Pang:

May I acknowledge your letter of August 18, 1971 which bears on the need for non-Canadian students to be insured in a private medical plan and of the increasing costs for this service.

Policy in this area is the responsibility of the Senate Committee on Student Health and I am sending a copy of your correspondence to its Chairman, Dr. J. C. McDonald, who will be pleased to discuss the problem with you, I am sure.

I regret the delay in responding to your letter but have only just returned from vacation.

Allan C. McColl
Director of Finance

A prelude to the Patriotes

"Colonization is the best affair of business in which the capital of an old and wealthy country can engage".

—John Stuart Mill

On September 8, 1760, the French Governor Vaudreuil officially handed Canada over to the British. The French left behind them a sparsely settled territory extending south to the Ohio River and as far west as anyone cared to guess. It was a primitive colony, to be sure, but there was no denying that it had possibilities.

Only about 62,000 people lived in the area, mostly on the Lower St. Lawrence. Land had not been cleared much beyond its banks and agriculture was only developed enough to meet the modest needs of the small settlements.

The French had been more concerned with the fur-trade than with serious colonization, but a feudal structure of a sort had been imported for the purpose. Many historians speak favorably of feudalism in New France, pointing out that it was informal enough to promote a comfortable life among the habitants,

and that it avoided the class strife of Old World feudal societies. But, in effect, it didn't differ much from the classical feudal model. Land ownership—over 8 million acres—was concentrated in the hands of the Church. Tenants were still bound to observe the rights and privileges of the seigneur, pay him feudal dues and submit to forced labor on his property, but feudal obligations were not enforced as harshly or as regularly as they had been in Europe. At least not until of the time of the Conquest.

From the beginning the Church had found a comfortable, propertied niche in Canadian society, but its privileged economic position caused little resentment. The habitant's relations with the clergy were intimate; most of the priests on the settlements were home-grown and the parish church managed to mix Catholic doctrine with regular social gatherings. While the Church did not hold quite so much land as the seigneurs, it successfully dominated parish life until the early 1800s.

The government's dealings with the habitants were marked by the same absence of formality as life on the estates. Its attitude is often described as a warm-hearted paternalism. A.L. Burt's *The Old Province of Quebec* is representative of this view:

"The government of New France was neither a vague abstraction nor an impersonal machine. It had a heart as well as an intelligence, and was like a wise father who knows how to humor his children."

What with all this affection between the habitants, Church, government and estate owners, the Canadian settlers seem to have had many fathers humoring them. And so it might be asked how all the children were kept in line. The legal system of the time saw to this. The government representative on each estate, the captain of the militia, was responsible for reading government proclamations and enforcing them. But criminal charges were kept in the family, so to speak. Reports of violators were made privately to the King's Attorney in New France who arranged for secret investigations into complaints, ostensibly to determine whether there was adequate evidence for prosecution. Those reported for wrong-doing were often completely unaware that they were under suspicion. The courts sat twice a week, were cheap, efficient and provided regular entertainment for the habitants. And while it is unclear whether or not justice was administered, it is certain that the courts were sought out rather than avoided by the tenants.

This pattern of social relationships, superficially idyllic but in fact repressive, was altered radically by the British conquerors. The remains of the French colonial administration were shipped



A Canadian in snowshoes, from an engraving by La Potherie.

Jack to France, but the old feudal structure was not dismantled. On the contrary, it was only after the Conquest that seigneurism really came into its own. Estate owners now took over all the authority that the Captain of the Militia had previously exercised. In addition, they were empowered to enforce the payment of feudal dues and to administer "high justice" which amounted to little less than absolute control over the tenant's life and limb. The new power of the seigneurs could only work to the advantage of the English. Ruled like independent fiefdoms, habitant settlements became isolated and could offer little resistance to the colonial authority.

But if the British foresaw no insurrection they might well have worried about the resentment that would result from their take-over. British guns had destroyed Québec city and much of the countryside surrounding it and British troops had dealt severely with habitants who had tried to aid French forces. The habitants had also seen many hardships at the hands of the French. They were exhausted from forced militia duty and impoverished because the war had made French paper currency worthless.

For the British there would be many obstacles to the development of a profitable colony. For one thing, there was the old civil code which had outlasted the French in Quebec. The so-called 'coutume de Paris', on which the code was based, drew important distinctions between movable and fixed property. While it was a simple proposition to sell one's clothes or furniture, it was far more difficult to buy and sell land. Any transfer of

fixed property was made conditional for a year in order to safeguard the right of a family to buy back what it had presumably been forced to sell.

These arrangements were useful in keeping the feudal estates intact and hence preserving the absolute authority of seigneur over tenant, but they blocked British attempts at land speculation. And it must have occurred to the British, who were hardly new to the business of colonization, that so long as feudalism remained in force, commerce would not develop.

The conquerors would now have to choose between maintaining tenant servility and promoting capitalist development. They managed to settle for a little of both. By 1774 and the Quebec Act, the harsh seigneurial penal code was eliminated, but feudal dues were still collected. It might have been a better plan for the British to dispense with feudalism altogether, but a good number of seigneurs were British after the Conquest and they were not anxious to turn over the economy to a crude and opportunistic bourgeoisie. The sensibilities of the landed gentry still carried some weight and the seigneurial system wouldn't die out until 1854.

The new English bourgeoisie may have had their differences with the seigneurs but were at one in their opposition to the clergy. Church influence was rooted deeply and its authority grew appreciably after 1760 despite the arrival of the British. This can probably be best explained by the theory that the Conquest effectively decapitated Canadian society, that the 'natural secular leadership' of New France, that is, the bourgeoisie of the trading centres, was emasculated by the conquerors. Some of the businessmen of New France had left after the French defeat. Those who stayed were the first to declare allegiance to the conquerors. But the British made it a point to subvert these small merchants, first by stopping French shipments of goods to Canada and then by taking over commerce themselves with supplies from their own London markets. The economy of French Canada flourished between 1765 and 1771, but the British collected all the profits. What little was left of the Cana-



Vaudreuil

The first of a four-part series on Quebec's political development from the Conquest to the present day, this article examines the impact of British colonization from 1760 to 1837. The historical series, prepared by a team of Daily writers and researchers this summer, is the first instalment of a fifteen-article survey on Quebec's social development planned by the new McGill Daily Quebec Service.

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dien bourgeoisie was kept alive by the fur trade. The British betrayal put an end to the traditional French métropole and replaced it with the imperial market. Canadien society was confined to the countryside with the clergy comfortably in control.

The British take-over did substantial damage to Canadien society but it was not without its benefits. The English revolution of 1688 had introduced bourgeois democratic rights to Britain and these would enter the new Province of Québec with the Conquest. The authorities found it difficult to deny the Canadiens the right to assemble, petition and conduct political agitation. These were freedoms which, if they had existed at all under French rule, had never been exercised to the degree that they would be under the British.

Since capitalist development in Britain was considerably more advanced than in France, the prospect of economic growth was enhanced. But, since only the conquerors would reap the profits, class divisions increasingly became national divisions.

The question of what would become of Canadien culture now begged an answer. It is clear that the conquerors were not thinking in terms of maintaining minority British rule over a huge French peasant majority. They foresaw the growth of a mercantilist economy in Québec and looked forward to a sizeable influx of British immigrants that would equalize the proportions of English to French in the colony. But immigration on any scale presupposed a mercantilism that could not develop so long as Québec retained a rural economy.

By the early 1770s, unrest in New England posed a further threat to British colonialism in Québec and put another obstacle in the way of a gradual assimilation. The conquerors had their hands full trying to keep revolutionary sentiment out of Québec, and in this they would be unsuccessful. The American example would in part inspire the Patriote uprising of 1837. Plans for assimilation suffered a further set-back, ironically at the hands of the British themselves; the Quebec Act of 1774 provided for safeguards to French rights in Canada.

The concessions to the Canadiens were a kind of pacification program, but the British were not unanimous in putting them through. The mercantilists opposed the idea from the start mostly because they had a low opinion of the habitants and because they knew that concessions like those of the Quebec Act would only hinder new entrepreneurs. But the governor and the military prevailed and the Quebec Act was enacted. As it turned out, the British bourgeoisie had been right. The real problem was in the countryside. The seigneurs weren't about to



Montcalm



Wolfe

help the mercantilists and the habitants, who would presumably provide the cheap labor for English entrepreneurs, would never leave the farm in the Church could help it.

And so rural Québec remained much the same as it had been. If the habitants resented an enforced feudal system, the seigneurs saw to it that their disenchantment did not create resistance. Even the American invasions of 1775 brought little or no response from the rural Canadiens. The governor at the time, Sir Guy Carleton, tried to raise a militia to fend off the Yankee invaders, but the habitants were not 'ideal' recruits. They had vivid memories of the Seven Years' War and feared deportation. Many of the habitants deserted, but not primarily out of sympathy for the Americans. The Yankee rebels looked upon the habitants as shiftless and lazy and, for the most part, shared the views of the British bourgeoisie they proposed to destroy.

The Canadiens had other reasons for their hesitancy to participate in anti-British actions. The habitant was profiting from the sale of produce on the imperial market and Canadiens still controlled the fur trade. They would lose

their leadership in furs on the establishment of the Northwest Company by Scottish businessmen in 1783.

At about the same time, Québec would see the arrival of the first United Empire Loyalists. The neutrality of the province during the American fighting and its proximity to New England made it an ideal refuge for pro-British elements. But the fact still remained that Québec was ill-prepared for the entry of a strong British minority accustomed to the teeming mercantilism of New England. The English conquerors had as yet been unable to alter the basic fabric of Canadien society and little or no economic groundwork had been laid for a new group of entrepreneurs.

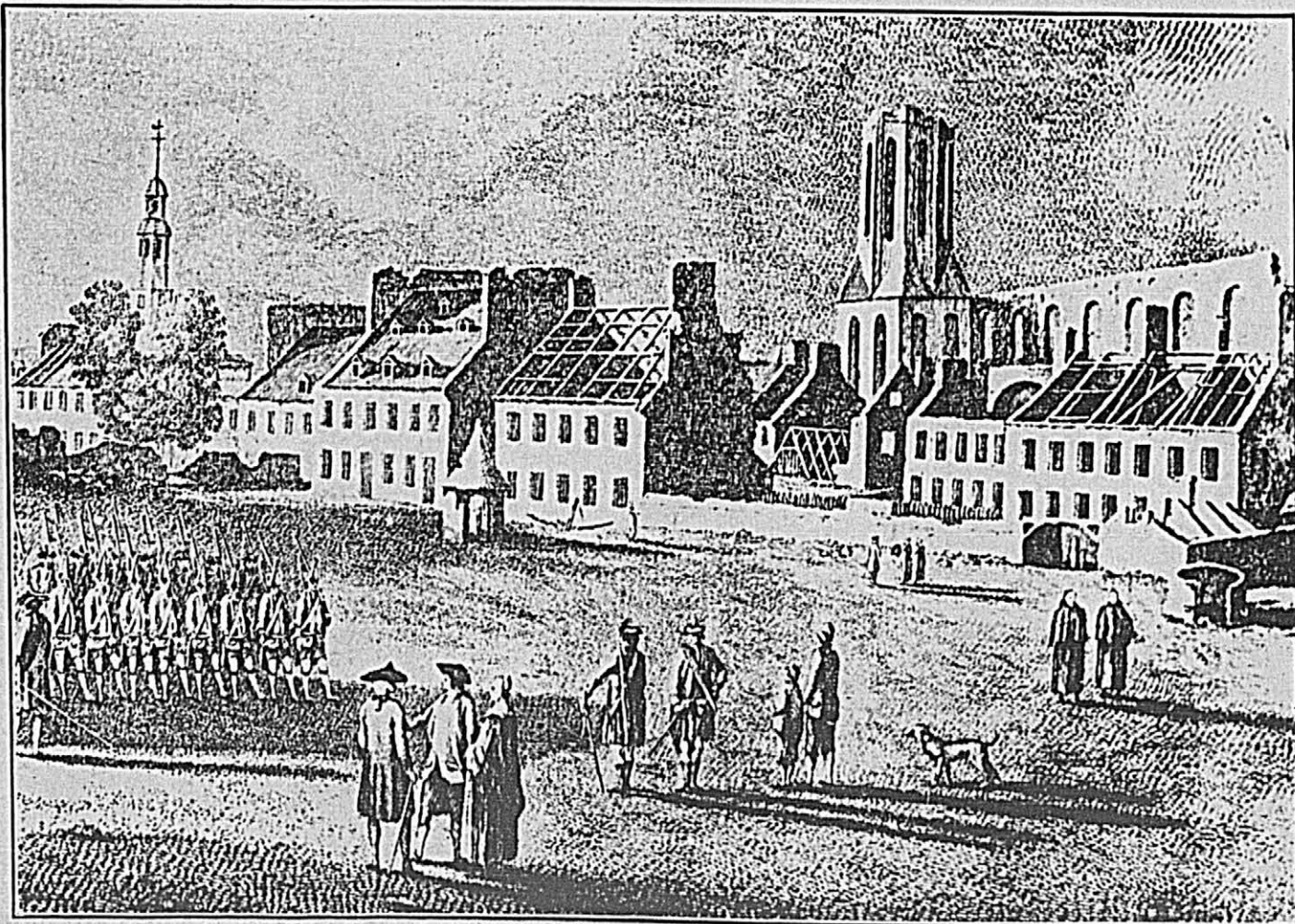
The Constitutional Act of 1791 was intended to solve these problems. It provided for the partition of the old province of Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada. In English-speaking Upper Canada, the Act established British institutions. Lower Canada retained French civil law, seigneurial tenure and maintained the freedoms granted to the Roman Catholic Church in 1774. The Act also provided for elective assemblies in both Upper and Lower Canada.

The elective assembly in the Lower Province had been set up as a result of the demands of loyalists who had by then settled in the Eastern Townships. The Canadiens had been indifferent to the assembly at first; there was certainly no cause for enthusiasm. The cards were stacked in favor of the English. The assembly's decisions could be, and were, vetoed by an appointed British governor and executive council.

Parliamentarism would signal the growth of nationalism in Lower Canada, but it would take some time for clear cultural conflict to emerge. The Loyalist immigration had come at a time of prosperity in Quebec, due mainly to the trade in furs and wheat; and by 1793, as a result of continued economic growth in Lower Canada, the attitudes toward the British were highly favorable. Instability on the Continent after the French Revolution contributed temporarily to the growing fondness for the British, but the French Revolution would inspire nationalist sentiment. In fact, when word of the storming of the Bastille reached the colony, a mob attempted to re-enact the world-historical event in front of Montreal's prison.

Canadien nationalism was still in its early stages in the first years of the 1800s. It had not appeared among the seigneurs, but in the new social class, the bourgeoisie of the liberal professions. These notaries and lawyers were the first group to leave the rural milieu, but their ties to the habitants were strong ones. The new bourgeoisie commanded the respect of the habitants for their education, but the economic rewards of the liberal professions were small and posed little threat to Church dominance, though it was the intent of the new group to wrest control from the clergy. Conflict

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The ruins of the Cathedral of Québec after the siege of 1759.

serve a French nationality in the midst of Anglo-American colonies and states", was widespread in Lower Canada long before he came.

Support for the policy of assimilation was especially strong from right-wing newspapers. Early in the 19th century the *Mercury* writes: "After forty-seven years of possession, it is only right that the province should finally become English." Thirty years later the *Montreal Herald*: "To have peace we must have solitude. Let us drive the Canadians from the face of the earth . . . The integrity of the Empire must be respected, and peace and prosperity assured to the English even at the expense of the existence of the whole French Canadian nation".

The English had not expected the kind of nationalism that was to emerge in Lower Canada. The Constitutional Act of 1791 had been partially aimed at

to the Chateau Clique (the lower Canadian equivalent of the Family Compact), he made enemies among the seigneurs and clergy and found erstwhile support from John Neilson, the Scottish editor of the *Québec Gazette*.

The conflict in Lower Canada centered mainly on the question of control of revenue. The executive council received the revenues from land sales and fees as well as customs and duties collected under the Quebec Revenue Act of 1774. With its own source of income, it was relatively independent of the elected assembly in most financial matters. So it was not very difficult to understand that control of the revenues of the Executive meant control of the government.

The Executive was willing to make a deal. They would surrender their financial prerogatives in return for a civil list, a permanent guarantee of the salaries of government officials. Papineau refused, reasoning that, on guaranteed salaries, government officials would be impossible to control. In 1831 Papineau got what he wanted: control of finances without a guaranteed civil list. He now pressed for a popularly-elected legisla-

ten years before. In 1822 the British government had proposed the amalgamation of Upper and Lower Canada in a move that had been prompted by a growing fear among English mercantilist elements in the Lower province that capitalism would never get off the ground. The proposal met with opposition and later defeat at the hands of the *Canadiens*, who feared for the fate of their culture in a united Anglo-dominated Canada. When Papineau was elected Speaker of the House in 1827, the British governor Dalhousie decided to dissolve the government rather than see him in office. The government took steps to stifle any outcry that might have arisen from the move. Newspapers were harassed, judges removed from the Bench and whole French Canadian militia battalions dissolved. Protest petitions with over 87,000 signatures were sent to London resulting in the replacement of Dalhousie by Kempt. Kempt's tenure was short and he was replaced by Aylmer whose turn at bat saw the arrest of two leading Patriote journalists, Tracey and Duvernay. The elections of 1832 would see the death of three *Canadiens* in a bloody fusillade by British troops on St. James Street in Montreal.

A host of other problems plagued Lower Canada. For the colonizers, there was still the problem of making the area a profitable undertaking. And the chief obstacle to successful capitalist development was the abundance of land. If it were possible for immigrants to procure property, it would soon become a difficult matter to develop a market of wage-workers. The solution was the establishment of land companies, which the British did first by setting up the Canada Company in Upper Canada in 1825 and seven years later by chartering the British American Land Company in the lower province. Between the two enterprises there were land-holdings of some 3 million acres. And with land-speculation booming, prices soared well beyond the reach of newcomers. The land companies saw to it that the prime condition of capitalism, propertyless labor, was satisfied. But they would have some difficulty keeping their designs a secret. The chartering of the British American Land Co. had met with petitions signed by over 80,000 people opposing the policy of British monopoly over land.

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with the Church had now developed on two fronts. The British, who had been brought up on a secular political diet had never had much taste for the Québec clergy and now a home-grown bourgeoisie was at odds with the curés.

But the interests of the English and French bourgeoisies were not that similar: the former emphasized mercantilism, while the latter was not without the legacy of a static rural tradition. In 1807 the nationalist newspaper *Le Canadien* insisted that French Canada was an agrarian society and should stay that way. It opposed the fur trade on the grounds that it was contributing to a decline in the morals of the *Canadiens* and it vigorously attacked the Loyalists for their entrepreneurial tendencies.

On the installation of Sir James Craig as governor in 1810, *Canadien* nationalist feeling was open combat. With the indignation of a British military man stuck in a n unmanageable colony, he sought to put an end to Québécois participation in the administration of the Lower province. He accused the *Canadiens* of being disloyal and of harboring sympathies for the American revolution-



Chenier

transforming French Canadians into English Canadians through the establishment of English institutions. But it was not as easy as waving the legislative magic wand. The French proved at least as adept as the English in the Assembly and had won recognition of French as the official language as early as 1792. The motto of *Le Canadien* at its founding in 1806: "Our Language, Our Institutions, Our Laws".

The English were not without accomplishments of their own. In 1825, despite vigorous opposition from *Canadien* politicians, they won the right to change land holdings from seigneurial to free tenure.

At about the same time, a movement to democratize colonial governments had become fairly widespread in both Upper and Lower Canada. In both areas there was agreement that the executive branch of the government ought to be brought under popular control, but on the question of a new legislative structure, the so-called radical wing of the reform movement favored a system along American lines while the 'moderates' supported the British model.

By 1815 Louis Joseph Papineau had emerged as the leader of the French movement. He was a seigneur and a lawyer, served as Speaker of the Assembly and was committed to *Canadien* control of Lower Canada, but was much less than a revolutionary and not much more than a reformer. For his opposition

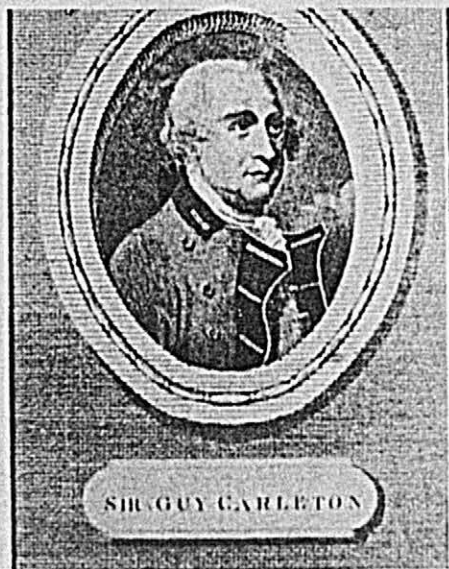


Papineau

tive council, a move that would cost him Neilson's support.

When Papineau presented the now famous ninety-two resolutions in the Assembly in 1834, he met with opposition again. The resolutions called for massive constitutional reforms patterned on the American model. Resolution 14 emphasized the need for a greatly extended franchise and expressed the feeling that the reformers were "nowise disposed to admit the excellence of the present Constitution of Canada." Papineau declared that, until the demands were met, his Patriote party would refuse the funds necessary to maintain the government.

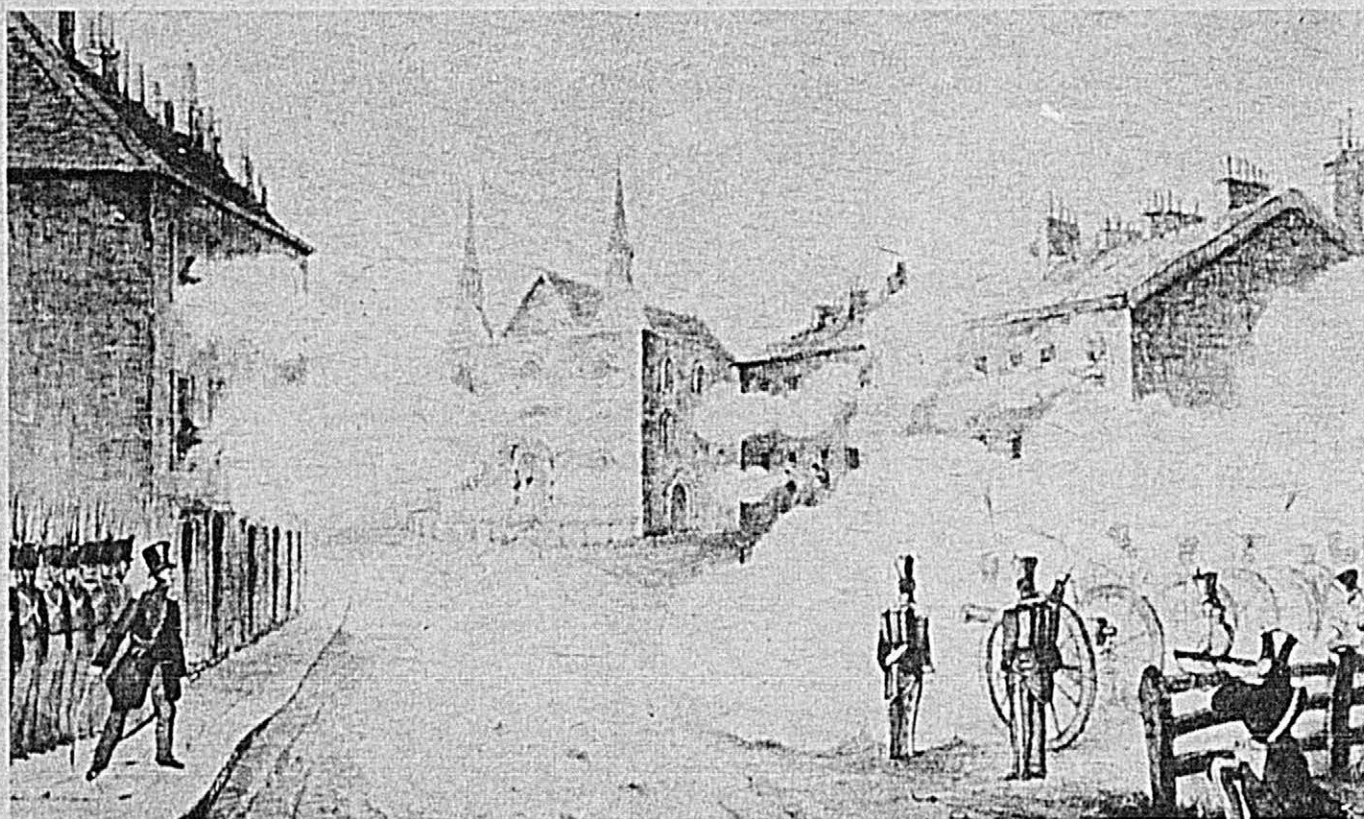
The threat of armed struggle between the reformist Patriotes and the British had grown very serious indeed, but it was the predictable outcome of hostilities between the reformers and the British elite that had started as early as



SIR GUY CARLETON

aries. He dismissed Québécois officers from the militia and jailed the editors of *Le Canadien*. In so doing he made a lot of enemies among the French-speaking members of the Legislative Assembly, but, if Craig had been unpleasant, he had clearly represented the feeling that assimilation was the only cure for the problems of Lower Canada.

The drive for British ethnic control had, after all, been in progress for a long time. It was the considered policy of the men in the post-Conquest government that by separating habitant communities, the French would soon be wiped out as the majority in Quebec. In isolated communities, they posed no threat of resistance and Durham's sentiment that it was "a vain endeavor to pre-



Attack on the patriotes at St-Eustache Church.

Continued from page 17

But nature took over where the British left off. An agricultural crisis which had begun to develop as early as 1802 worsened and fluctuating soil conditions made prospects bleak for agricultural improvements.

Overpopulation on French-owned land was now acute and only a growing timber industry staved off full-scale crisis. A wholly British enterprise, the timber industry had developed in conjunction with British naval construction in Lower Canada, serving as a source of employment for some rural inhabitants and a large number of Québec City workers. The industry provided an impetus to immigration into Canada, especially from Ireland. But immigration was a failure. There were few enough jobs in Lower Canada as it was and health conditions on the immigrant ships were so bad that the ships could be identified simply by their smell. Disease on board claimed hundreds of lives and caused epidemics in Lower Canada.

In the government, things were just as bad or worse. Canadiens were still denied any significant role in the civil service and outright conflict on cultural lines was now more and more frequent. The matter of British land speculation was a further source of hostilities. Education was another contentious issue. By 1821 the British had set up a school system run for and by Protestants, and the first English-language university, later to be known as McGill University, was established in a concerted effort to start a policy of assimilation from a comprehensive British educational system.

The situation was messy enough to raise more than a few eyebrows in the Colonial Office and in 1837 a British commission of inquiry headed by Lord Gosford made its report on the condi-

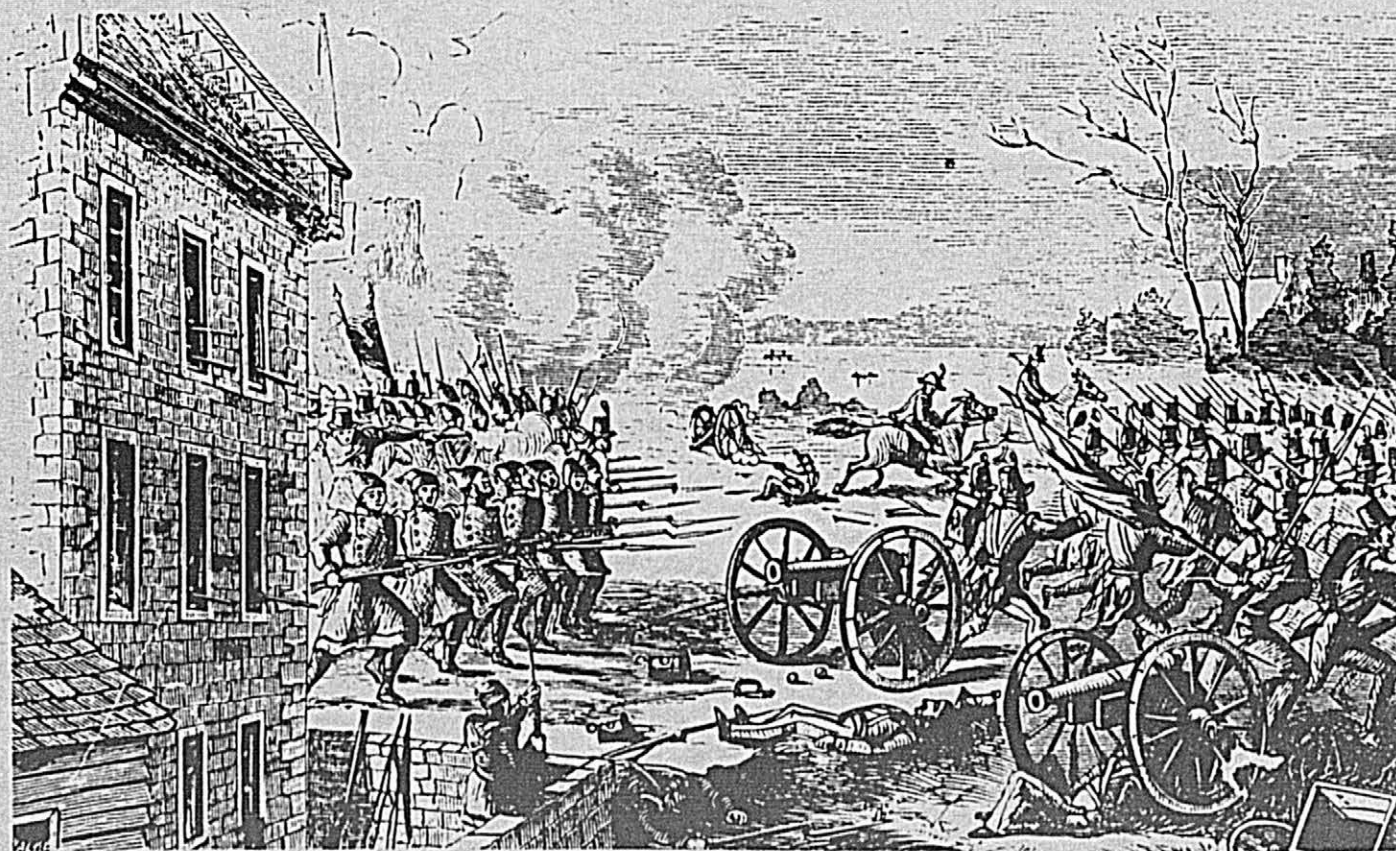
tions in Canada. The main demands of the reformers were killed by Gosford's findings and, on the basis of the report, Colonial Secretary Lord John Russell passed through Parliament his now famous ten resolutions, rejecting responsible government in Canada and authorizing the seizure of revenues by the Executive in Lower Canada despite opposition from the Assembly. News of Russell's resolutions brought on meeting after meeting of protest in the lower province. Patriote committees formed in

the parishes of Lower Canada were now equipped with militias and judiciaries. The Patriotes had not made serious plans for an armed struggle, but they were quickly organizing their support and left the first move to British troops.

Meetings of reformers in Upper Canada passed resolutions of solidarity with the Patriotes, and in July of 1837 a plan was drawn up to unite the reformers of Upper Canada.

In Lower Canada, the Patriotes were now learning the rudiments of military

organization and serious plans for an armed take-over were finalized in November. Papineau left Montréal on November 13 after an attempt had been made on his life. The governor was persuaded to issue warrants for the arrest of the Patriotes, and Colborne, the leader of the British forces, saw to it that troops were used to make the arrests. The ill-armed Patriotes gathered in towns and villages to defend their leaders; the troops were marched out against them. The Civil War had begun.

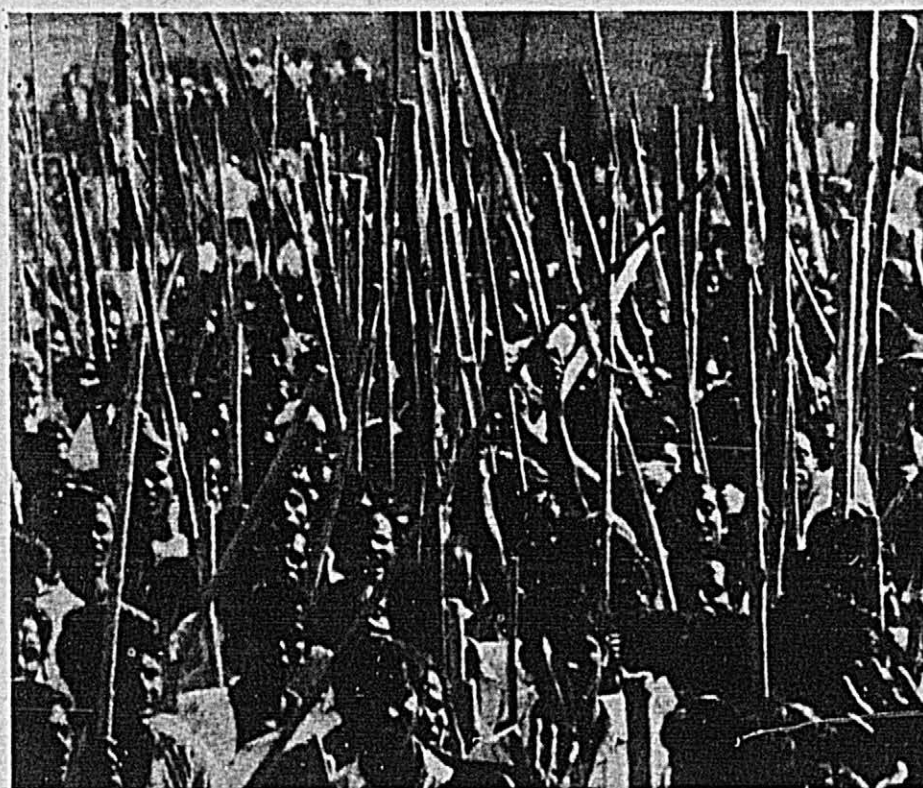


An early victory for the Patriote forces would come with the defeat of Gore.

Nesar Ahmad

Counterpoints

The peasant movement in East Pakistan



by nesar ahmed and n. chowdhri

The six month old struggle of the people of Bangladesh (East Pakistan) for independence from the neo-colonial rule of West Pakistan has been widely publicized in the Western press. An occurrence that involved carnage whose parallel can only be found in the Nazi terror in Europe and the present American genocide in Indochina certainly deserved widespread coverage.

What is wrong with this kind of coverage is that it treats these events as spectacles. The movement in East Bengal has been represented as a constitutional struggle by the elected representatives of the people, reaching a crisis point due to sudden betrayal by the West Pakistani junta—a betrayal that led to genocide, and then to resistance against the brutal use of force. More recently, the immense sufferings of the homeless millions who have taken shelter in India have monopolized press and public attention.

A spectacle, however, always disappears as suddenly as it comes before our eyes. It hardly explains the genesis of a problem. Two questions have arisen in the minds of many people, questions which have not been clearly answered by the Western press:

■ How does one part of a country become a colony of another when the country, as a whole, stands in a neo-colonial relationship with the Western capitalist structure?

■ Why, after two and a half decades

as a formal political entity, did the people of East Pakistan decide to rock the boat?

We claim that the present struggle is neither a sudden outburst of sentiment, nor is it directed to a narrow constitutional goal. If it had been, the military junta's planned 48 hour blitzkrieg would have been successful. Instead of successfully conquering the people, Yahya Khan simply succeeded in rekindling the flame of revolution in Bengal. Pockets of urban resistance having fallen, the Pakistani army now confronts that formidable force of armed peasantry whose struggle for survival dates back centuries. No wonder, then, that the reports of increased guerrilla activities abound. Heavy losses have been incurred by the Pakistani army and its local collaborators (those belonging to the so-called peace committees and those called the *raza kars*). This small group of quislings belongs to the feudal and religious groups.

The U.S. reaction of sending "police teams" (a U.N. team) is thus understandable. The participation of the peasantry in the struggle makes clear a strong analogy with Vietnam.

200 years of British rule in India have witnessed relentless battles waged by the peasantry against the imperialist rulers and their cohorts, the local feudal landlords. Bengal has a unique place in the history of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, where the bitterest struggles were carried out in the face of a deliberate British policy to destroy the economy of the region. Before its mid-

eighteenth century conquest by the British, Bengali industrial development was what a British commission in 1918 described as "not inferior to that of the more advanced European nations". But within a generation, the ruling British East India Company allowed Bengal's extensive irrigation system to fall into ruin and raised taxes so precipitously that farmers were forced to give up seed and livestock. The resulting famine in the early 1770s brought death by starvation to fully a third of the Bengali nation. But British monopoly capital increased its strength significantly from its plunder of Bengal, fuelling the first stages of the industrial revolution in England.

Revolt of 1770.

The peasants of different areas of Bengal rose in rebellion against this exploitation. In Pargana, Jessore and Khulna, officials of the Company and their local agents were killed. Captured goods like foodstuffs were distributed among the poor peasants. Through guerrilla warfare, areas were "liberated" for a time; captured lands were redistributed amongst poor farmers.

Revolt of 1780.

In 1780, the workers in the salt industry initiated a revolt in response to intolerable working conditions. In the intense struggle that followed, both the rural and the urban masses united against the alien exploiters.

Indigo revolts.

The most protracted struggle of the 19th century in Bengal was that of indigo workers. Resisting the British attempt to grow indigo in place of rice, the rebels clashed repeatedly with the British forces. The heroism of the leaders of this guerrilla type movement—B. Sardar, Dadu Miau and Tipu Miau—found their inspiration in the struggling peasantry of Bengal.

1857

During the first war of independence in 1857, the Bengali peasantry joined with the rebelling soldiers. The monuments to the martyrs of that war still stand in the center of Dacca city in East Bengal.

To break the unity of the people, the British employed their well known divide and rule policy. Religion was used as an easy tool for this purpose. In some Bengali areas the Hindus were favoured and in others the Muslims. In Bengal—a province of Muslim majority—the Hindus had formed the landowning class.

Yet the armed rebellion of 1932 in which the city of Chi Hagong met with insurrection, exhibits a profound sense of unity between the Hindu and Muslim peasants, who fought against their common enemies, the landlords and the British Imperialists.

The successful Russian revolution at the beginning of the 20th Century opened vistas for the struggling masses of the world. By the mid thirties, the All India Peasants Committee was formed. In 1936 its counterpart in Bengal (the Peasant Union of Bengal) was established. The most well-known and militant of the struggles led by the union was the Tebhaga movement, originating with the landless farmers' demand for a

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to have reverted to a quiet, private style of life. Instead of taking over, they are taking in their classes; instead of raging in the streets to protest national issues, they toil on committees studying campus problems. The abrasive cant of radicals is scarcely to be heard."

Students, we are told here, have matured, have opted for tranquility instead of disorder. The distinctions between bad and good forms of actions are now made clear: "taking over" v. "taking in" classes; raging v. toil; the "abrasive cant" v. the reasoned discourse of committees.

Time calls this "phenomenon" "eerie tranquility" and explains it in the terse two-sentence style with which we are now familiar: "The Kent and Jackson State killings on one hand, and the wanton bombings of the urban guerrillas on the other, have instilled in students a profound fear of repression and violence. One of the few clear trends on all campuses is a return to a Gandhi-like philosophy of non-violence."

Students are not angry about repression; they are fearful. The "wanton bombings" ("urban guerrillas" are now perverts) are not for *Time* responses to repression, but merely a case of it; repression and violence are not made into casually distinct types of action, but rather varieties of the same thing. The conclusion seems to be that only passive resistance is legitimate. Accordingly, on the familiar topic of "mass actions", *Time* characterizes liberal individualism in fashionable terms (the private search) and describes mass movements as lowly "mobs": "Mass demonstration as a tactic to bring about political change has worn thin. Students are not only weary of tear gas and night sticks, but have recognized that mobs, however idealistic, can easily be manipulated by small minorities on both sides of the issues. They are now asserting their independence and privately searching for new tactics."

Notice that the statement about "mobs" talks as well about "manipulation" ("Idealistic" hardly succeeds in off-setting value-ridden words like "mobs").

An interesting aspect of the Cooling of America piece is its acceptance of the liberal fallacy which identifies the recognition of a problem with its solution. The "conscience," and "memory" of events becomes more important than the events themselves. As a kind of impotent disclaimer, then, *Time's* closing remark speaks for itself: "Even if there is no further trouble, campus quiet is not synonymous with campus health. Oases for ideas, universities should be places of ferment. The violence of the past few years was, of course, unacceptable, but the student movement has called the nation's attention to some of its weaknesses . . . The memory of the violence will endure, but so will the existence of students as a once and future conscience and collective voice of national concern."

In numerical terms, of course, there have been fewer "campus disturbances" in the past few years than in 1968 when such actions reached a peak. The fact that there were so many at the time served to strengthen solidarity among students and lengthen strikes and occupations. The fact that student actions took place in the U.S., Mexico, Britain, France, Germany and Japan almost simultaneously in 1968 can only attest to the strength of the movement. Is it then reasonable to believe that militancy of this scope could have faded away in the

course of three years? The difficulty in answering this question lies first of all in the way it is posed. We are so used to equating militancy with apocalypse that the absence of the latter is wrongly seen to mean the absence of the former. The same sort of reasoning might also lead us to believe that there was no student movement before 1968!

It is true that there is difficulty finding the "issues" when universities are looked at as interchangeable, homogenous collections of students, instead of in the context of local problems. Some students now recognize that some of the old "student power" issues had limited possibilities, and that action is now most needed on the community and national levels; that students must now act as citizens, as revolutionary people and not in their own narrow interest. Of course, there are other reasons which relate directly to individual students and individual campuses.

Student militancy is best understood in its historical development and by seeing how it grew we can learn something useful about its present state.

How did activism begin?

In North America the beginning is usually taken to have been the Free Speech Movement at the University of California at Berkeley in 1964. Students at Berkeley began to take exception to the purposes of the modern university, and they did so in the form of mass rallies. The thinking to which these students were opposed, the thinking which was to rouse American campuses from the silence of the Fifties, was succinctly expounded by former University of California president, Clark Kerr:

"(The university) stands to serve the needs of American industry; it is a factory that turns out a certain product needed by industry or government . . .

"The university is well-structured, well-tooled to turn out people with all the sharp edges worn off, the well-rounded person."

The belief that the university is a service industry whose raw materials are students led first to demands for political freedoms within the universities and later to different and more forceful demands for self-determination outside it.

The issues of accessibility to the universities and of the need for universities to serve and represent a wider community; demands for a halt to property exploitation by universities, the issue of racism; all these things contributed to the birth of student power at places like Columbia, Berkeley and Cornell.

The advent of "student power", sparked by widely-supported radical groups like Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), marked a new stage in the development of the student move-



ment.

It was a new stage because for the first time students were recognizable as a movement. To be sure, a consciousness of a sort had grown up in the early sixties; the ban-the-bomb rallies and the involvement of individual students in the American civil rights movement were indications of a certain commitment, but at best a reformist one. In these sorts of actions was the conviction that peaceful protest leads, ultimately, to a redress of grievances. A turning point came in the summer of 1964 when the first revolts by urban blacks made clear that their struggle, at least, had little to do with grievances and a lot to do with a long

history of crimes perpetrated against them—crimes upon which an affluent white capitalist society had been built. Where the liberal civil rights movement worked on the assumption that something called racial equality had accidentally been left out of the American democratic blue-print, there was an emergent recognition among radical blacks that exploitation makes a lot of sense in the grand scheme and design of capitalism.

The perception of racism as something integral to American capitalism contributed to a clarification in the student position. The struggle would be waged not against some infantile conception of "the Establishment", but against a deeply-rooted system of destructive social relations working to maintain fundamental economic disparities in the U.S.

Two cases of student action.

The uprising at Columbia University in May of 1968 represents not only the development of the student position, but gives us a fair sampling of the issues for which American students were prepared to enter physical struggle with police. The avowed objectives of the Columbia demonstration included opposition to the university's membership in the Institute for Defense Analysis, the building of a university gymnasium in a Harlem public park and university disciplinary methods.

The Cox Commission, which was set up to explain the unpleasantness at Columbia, rejected the view "that ascribes the April and May disturbances primarily to a group of student revolutionaries". It notes that Columbia "was twisted and torn by the forces of political and social revolution outside the

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2— In a *McGill Free Press* article (September 19, 1968) Stanley Gray, a Marxist, and at the time a lecturer in the department of political science, explains the evolved student position this way: "The point is that advanced monopoly capitalism has given needs, expectations and capabilities which it is structurally incapable of satisfying and which provoke resistance against it, and these contradictions are deeply experienced and acted upon by today's students in the capitalist multiversity . . . Thus we have seen the development in North America and Western Europe of a student movement with similar goals, strategy, tactics and style—similar because of the essential similarity of their societies and universities."

The dollar glut in European and Asian countries also had another effect. Holders of dollars realized that the excessive supply would eventually lead to a dollar devaluation and therefore insisted that the U.S. give them gold for their dollars, causing a run on the country's gold reserves. In 1949, the Americans held 73% (\$24.7 billion) of the capitalist world's gold reserves; at that time, the U.S. owed only \$6 billion to the rest of the world. Within 20 years, the U.S.'s gold supply sank to only \$11.9 billion while foreign claims rose to \$44.9 billion. Just before Nixon's wage-price freeze, the gold supply was less than \$9 billion while liquid liabilities stood at \$57 billion. American money had become practically worthless. It was no longer backed by gold and the U.S. economy, notwithstanding Nixon's claim that it was "by far the strongest in the world," did not inspire confidence in the coun-

A large, bold, black dollar sign (\$) is centered on a white background. The sign is a thick, stylized outline of the dollar symbol, with a vertical line through the center. It has a slightly distressed or grainy texture, with some small black specks and white highlights, giving it a hand-drawn or stamped appearance. The top of the sign has a small rectangular tab extending upwards. The overall shape is roughly circular, with the top and bottom curves being more pronounced than the sides.

Japan will probably feel the impact of Nixon's measures most. However, even with the anticipated 12% revaluation of

The effects of a yen revaluation will also be felt in Australia, which annually sells \$700 million worth of iron ore and wool to Japan's export-orientated industries. The Australians will have to look for new markets in Europe and the U.S.—shipping costs, however, make it unlikely that they will find any. European

It is very unlikely that Nixon will lower the tariff barrier he has created. He may drop the surcharge, but only to replace it with some other barrier. It will be some time before American industries become competitive enough to meet the challenge of foreign firms, even if there is an international revaluation and European countries will probably also raise barriers. Thus, the nations of the capitalist world may once more be on the brink of an era of protectionism.



Chinese students march for Tiao Yu Tai

Something encouraging has been happening to overseas Chinese students in North America. The usually studious and politically dormant Chinese overseas student has begun to take up political action, the first time since the 1930's when overseas Chinese launched patriotic campaigns to oppose Japanese aggression in China. The focus of opposition is again Japan, or more specifically the revival of Japanese militarism in collusion with U.S. imperialism.

The issue which has mobilized thousands of Chinese students (mostly from Hong Kong and Taiwan) is that of the Tiao Yu Tai and surrounding islands off the coast of Taiwan.

Historically, the Tiao Yu Tai Islands were discovered by Chinese sailors and fisherman in the fourteenth century and it has been recorded that these islands have been under Chinese sovereignty since the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). For centuries, the Tiao Yu Tai (Fishing Islands) have been used as shelter by Chinese fishermen. The Japanese are now patrolling the islands after expelling Chinese fishermen from the islands last September.

Geographically, and by international law (the Geneva agreement of 1958 on the Continental Shelf), the Tiao Yu Tai Islands belong to China. The Geneva agreement states that coastal states exercise sovereignty over the continental shelf "to a depth of 200 metres or beyond that limit to where the depth of the waters admits of the exploitation of natural resources." Most of the East China Sea, including the Tiao Yu Tai islands falls within these limits.

Under the hoax of the Treaty of Peace with Japan, after the defeat of Japanese Imperialism, the U.S. has administered the Tiao Yu Tai Islands as part of the Japanese Ryukyu Islands. All these islands were under Japanese control during the Japanese wars of aggression against China since 1894 and were to have been returned af-

ter the Second World War. However, the Japanese militarists are still trying to cling to these islands. They even went as far as to dig up an "Imperial Edict" of 1896 as a basis of their claim to the Tiao Yu Tai Islands. Therefore, Japan, in collusion with the U.S. Government, will unilaterally and illegally incorporate into its own territory the territory of another nation, which was annexed by aggression. Under the fraud of "reversion" of Ryukyu Islands, the U.S. imperialists will hand over the Tiao Yu Tai Islands to Japan in 1972.

The Tiao Yu Tai Islands are desolate and uninhabitable, so why would the Japanese and U.S. governments want to annex them?

To put it in one word: oil. As reported by John Gittings in the "Guardian" Dec. 18, 1970: "If Peking wishes to acquire further evidence of what it regards as the rapacious nature of international monopoly capitalism, it need not look very far these days. In the waters of the East China Sea a scramble for oil has got under way, with friendly names like Gulf, Caltex, and Royal Dutch Shell in the lead." With these islands under Japanese control, the monopoly capitalists could plunder to their hearts' content.

Looking beyond this obvious economic reason, there is a political reason: the revival of Japanese militarism. Japanese militarism is instigated and supported by U.S. imperialism. In order to encourage and connive at a Japanese expansionist policy and use the Japanese reactionaries as an instrument for pushing the "Nixon Doctrine" in Asia, the U.S., of course, cannot return the Tiao Yu Tai Islands to China or even to the Nationalist regime on Taiwan. The Chinese people have long known that they cannot depend on the "sensible" of the U.S. imperialists.

The "Tiao Yu Tai Incident" has exposed the Chiang Kai-Shek regime as unwilling and unable to stand up for its sovereign rights. How can it when Taiwan is presently occupied by U.S. troops and its economy is totally dependent on U.S. and Japanese monopoly capital? On the one hand, it can only express "disagreement" over claims that the Tiao Yu Tai islands belong to Japan; on the other hand, the Taiwan regime

continues to work in cahoots with Japan and the Pak Jung Hi clique of South Korea, in "joint development" of the sea bed and subsoil resources of that area and selling out more Chinese territory. The Chiang clique would think nothing of sacrificing the Tiao Yu Tai Islands to maintain their dwindling position in world affairs and their seat in the United Nations.

The Government of the People's Republic of China has stated unequivocally that "plunder of China's sea-bed and subsoil resources by U.S. and Japanese reactionaries will never be allowed." Renmin Ribao (People's Daily) Dec 29, 1970 stated: "Taiwan Province and the islands appertaining thereto, including the Taoyu, Huangwei, Chihwei, Nansiao, Peihiao and other islands, are China's sacred territories. The resources of the sea-bed and subsoil of the seas around these islands, and of the shallow seas adjacent to other parts of China all belong to China, their owner, and we will never permit others to lay their hands on them." On May 1st 1971 Renmin Ribao again stated: "The Chinese people express their boundless indignation at and protest vehemently against the criminal activities of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries in flagrantly plotting to annex China's territory."

The broad masses of overseas Chinese have launched a resolute and patriotic campaign to safeguard national sovereignty and oppose the annexation of the Tiao Yu Tai islands by Japan in collusion with U.S. imperialism. The Tiao Yu Tai Movement was started by Chinese students at Princeton and the University of Wisconsin last December. By the end of January, the movement had become nationwide (now world-wide). A great deal of political work and propaganda was done in those first two months which led to mass demonstrations on January 29 and 30 all across the U.S.; New York, San Francisco, Washington, Chicago, Boston, Los Angeles and Seattle. Immediately following the January demonstrations, numerous new Tiao Yu Tai Defense Action Committees were formed. Now there are over 55 committees in

U.S. universities and schools, including a Tiao Yu Tai Committee here at McGill.

Following the January demonstrations, the students summed up their experiences, and planned future action. An open letter, condemning the inaction and impotence of the Kuomintang regime and con-

taining ten demands for immediate action, was sent to the Chiang Kai-shek clique. Some of the main demands were: make an open declaration that China's sovereignty to the Tiao Yu Tai islands is not to be violated and openly denounce the acts of aggression by the Japanese government; abstain from participating in the so-called "Sino-Japanese-Korean Conference on Joint Development of Subsoil Resources"; terminate government oppression of all patriotic movements in Taiwan and allow the press to inform the people of Taiwan about the Tiao Yu Tai islands.

After intense political work, demonstrations were held in three cities in North America on April 10. 2500 Chinese students and residents supported by a hundred or so Japanese and American friends held a demonstration in Washington. About 1000 people demonstrated in San Francisco. In Montreal, the McGill Tiao Yu Tai Committee organized a demonstration with about 300 Chinese students taking part. This demonstration also attracted Québécois friends of China.

The demonstrators in the U.S. strongly denounced Japanese militarism, U.S. imperialism, and the Chiang Kai-shek clique. The following slogans were raised: "Defend Tiao Yu Tai!", "700 million people are united as one!", "Down with Japanese militarism!", "Oppose U.S.-Japanese scheme!" and "Rid traitors from within and resist aggressors from without!"

The militant demonstration held at Portsmouth Square in the heart of Chinatown, San Francisco, further exposed the reactionary stand of the Kuomintang regime. The KMT reactionaries had been carrying out a planned campaign in the vain hope of destroying the student movement. The night before the rally, the characters "Communist bandit students" were written on the wall near the square. One of the speakers dared the KMT lackeys to come out into the daylight instead of carrying out their dirty work in the dead of night. At this point six KMT-bought agents rushed up and attacked the speaker; however, they were beaten off. The demonstrators then marched to the Chiang clique consulate where they read out the "ten demands"; to the Japanese

consulate to read out a protest letter to the Sato regime and warn the Japanese militarists to stop their aggressive acts once and for all or else suffer the punishment they deserved at the hands of the Chinese people; and then to the Federal Building. At the U.S. Federal building, an American friend made a speech denouncing the U.S. government for carrying out oppression at home and imperialistic adventures abroad, and reviving Japanese militarism to act as its "Asian gendarme."

Renmin Ribao reported these demonstrations and commented, "Their just action has won resolute support from the people of their motherland," adding, "The aggressive scheme of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries to occupy China's territory and plunder her resources with the Chiang bandit gang can only arouse the burning anger of every patriotic Chinese."

Chinese students are now realizing that the basic question is not merely over some rocky islands or resources, it is not just a question of nationalism but a question of internationalism. Japanese militarism and U.S. imperialism must be shown that they cannot ride roughshod over the peoples of the world and especially in Southeast Asia. The Chinese people and the peoples of the world must aid and support each other in this common struggle against U.S. imperialism. As one of the speakers said at the Washington rally: "We can win victory so long as we get united with the American people, the Japanese people and the people throughout the world and wage a joint struggle."

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Cooling...

Continued from page 21

university" and "its relations with the community had further deteriorated because of its apparent indifference to the needs and aspirations of its poorer neighbours". It states, nevertheless, that the objectives of the demonstrations were "inadequate causes for an uprising".

Significantly, the Cox Commission did recommend a liberalization in the structures at Columbia, but went only as far as making provisions for increased student representation in the university's decision-making apparatus. The Commission made no reference in its report to Columbia's extensive real-estate holdings, even though this was a central concern of students and one of the principal causes of the May student protests. As an example of the "too-little-too-late" phenomenon, the Cox Commission was a classic.

The SDS *Columbia Statement* summed up the situation this way: "We maintain that Columbia cannot of itself become a democratic institution, while capitalism as a whole remains intact. What some people call local control or participatory democracy, does not—we have found from our experience in the civil rights movement—advance the cause of freedom. For the conduct of local institutions depends on the operation of the entire market system. . . . Control of the University is exercised not through faculty councils or student unions, but through the mode of production in society, through capitalism. . . . We believe that anything less than a socialist struggle is doomed to fail. In a sense, the whole of society must be won before we can win the part."

In November, 1969, more than a year after the student revolts at Columbia, a new series of actions took place, this time at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The MIT demonstrations were not exclusively student actions; broad-based rallies would take place concurrently in the Massachusetts cities of Fall River, New Bedford and Lowell. The aim of all these protests was the same: to emphasize the imperialist nature of U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

One of the leaflets distributed by the organizing body, the November Action Committee, sets out the thinking behind the rallies: "In America those ten years (of American involvement in Vietnam) have revealed to thousands of us what our country is doing, not just in Vietnam but to the rest of the world as well. Marines in the Dominican Republic; napalm in Guatemala; military 'advisors' in Bolivia. Che dead. Neon Coca-Cola signs flashing from Saigon to Johannesburg. All over the world we saw American propping up corrupt and reactionary governments. Smiling generals. Pan Am jets. Smiling businessmen. While the people remain poor, diseased, illiterate, unemployed. We saw the 'free world'—an undeclared American empire, free only for American business to do what it wants.

"We were dragged to the inevitable conclusion that our government doesn't act in the interests of the people, but for the benefit of rich, gigantic corporations and the men who run them. The system of world wide power and domination behind the war we have learned to call by its proper name: imperialism. It is that system that has caused not only Vietnam but the war the U.S. wages throughout the globe; the war against social rev-

olutions which threaten the power and profits of American rulers".

Significantly, the aim of the MIT protests was not simply the ending of U.S. aggression in Vietnam, but an explicit action in solidarity with the National Liberation Front. As the position paper of the MIT chapter of the New University Conference (NUC) states: "The demonstrators call for an immediate withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam and the recognition of the National Liberation Front as the legitimate government of the South Vietnamese people."

The specific aims of the demonstrations were clear: (1) the ending of ABM and MIRV missile research at MIT's Lincoln and Instrumentation Labs; (2) the ending of the Helicopter project involving stabilization devices enabling helicopters to be used as gun-platforms in bad weather; a stoppage in work on the Moving Target Indicator (MTI) a radar device which helps in the detection

of human targets from high-speed helicopters.

The protests also sought to end two massive social science research projects; the first, ComCom and the International Communism Project, a study undertaken to develop psychological warfare techniques to counter "the impact of revolutionary movements all over the world". The second such study, the Cambridge Project (CAM) was designed to "develop a general theory, using computer data collections from such sources as interviews with NLF prisoners, youth movements and selective service data."

Later demonstrations by radical physicists at MIT would make even clearer demands to stop war research—a tall order since MIT, with Defense Department grants of about \$100 million, remained the largest single university military contractor in the U.S.

In terms of tangible results, the MIT demonstrations contributed directly to the eventual closing of the Instrumentation labs, though defense research is still a fact of life at MIT as well as other American universities. At least as important, though, is its contribution to the thinking of the movement; its ability to set forth the issues correctly and convincingly while at the same time showing their inherent relation to the struggle against imperialism.

What is perhaps most striking, even in this brief outline of the movement's development, is the evolution itself, the rational radicalization following first from the rejection of liberalism and later from the experience of physical confrontation. Staughton Lynd in his essay 'Towards a History of the New Left' has this analysis: "The white New Left, too, became disillusioned with white liberalism, but more slowly and ambivalently. The first eight years of the existence of the SDS coincided with Democratic administrations in Washington. Many a hard-core Leninist of 1968 had wondered about joining the Peace Corps in 1961 and cried when John Kennedy was killed in 1963. When early hopes of quick advance toward racial equality and international peace began to fade, the white New Left... began to denounce the 'corporate liberalism' which covered the sordid quest for power and profit with liberal rhetoric."

"Corporate liberalism, then, came to be understood by white radicals as an instrument of mystification, which solicits the oppressed to accept their oppression willingly because oppression describes itself as freedom. Accordingly, the celebrated New Left revolt against authority is especially a revolt against paternalistic, indirect authority which hides the hand of power in the glove of verbal idealism. 'Black Power' was the result of the discovery of this hypocrisy in the area of race relations, where talk of 'progress' concealed unenforced laws and court decisions, and an unchanging relationship of the economic power of blacks and that of whites. It was a similar recognition concerning foreign policy which, as Oglesby (SDS president in 1955) said in Washington, 'broke my liberal heart'."

The same development in movement thinking was reflected in the recognition of token radicals in the university. Peter Irons, in his essay 'On Repressive Institutions and the American Empire', writes: "It seems probable that the toleration of academic radicals is actually advantageous to the system, since such toleration hardly threatens the recruitment process of the system and allows the perpetuation of the myth of the university as a marketplace of ideas."

Yet the history of the student movement teaches us nothing if it does not show the necessity of action, if it does not lead us to realize that consciousness is empty if it does not lead to action. Irons makes the point this way: "Losing a war abroad to the forces of revolutionary nationalism has sobered many of us, and has rudely focussed our attention on the domestic consequences of imperialism. Watching and experiencing, if only vicariously, the struggle of our oppressed minorities here at home has added to this consciousness. Feeling the repressive weight of our institutions, as they are torn by the conflicting demands of tradition and the accelerating changes in values and technology, has revealed to some of us the necessity of revolution. But our growing consciousness, our awareness of the bond between our ideas and our 'material intercourse', does us little good until it is transformed into a commitment to the ultimate goals of the revolutionary struggle."

NOTICE

**It is the fall of 1969.
Ten long, painful, bloody years
the peasant revolutionaries of Vietnam were
beginning to reorganize guerrilla attacks on
dictatorship, a regime formed and kept in
the Americas. Ten years have passed. For
that is longer than we have been aware of
a world beyond ourselves, our families and**

For the Vietnamese, those ten years have been a social revolution. Begun in the fight against the French, that revolution met, without and defeated, the full force of the strongest super-power that history has ever seen: the United States. In those ten years no less than 750,000 Vietnamese have died. But the Vietnamese have fought on and on, organized a coalition of non-communists, Buddhists, Catholics, sect groups and others that they call the NLF against the Saigon government and the United States.

Under the leadership of the NLF they have formed the Provisional Revolutionary Government, which functions throughout the country as the real government. Defeated in offensive "search and destroy" campaigns, American strategists tried a "clear and hold" strategy. Defeated once again, they have retreated to relying primarily on what is termed "interception from afar," a strategy in which U.S. troops in helicopters attack threatening troop concentrations.

In addition, the Americans have continued saturation bombing and defoliation of the South. There are still 500,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam, immobilized as were the French before them. The U.S. and the corrupt Saigon regime it maintains are not going to be completely overrun by the Vietnamese. While the U.S. cannot win, in America those ten years have revealed to thousands of us the

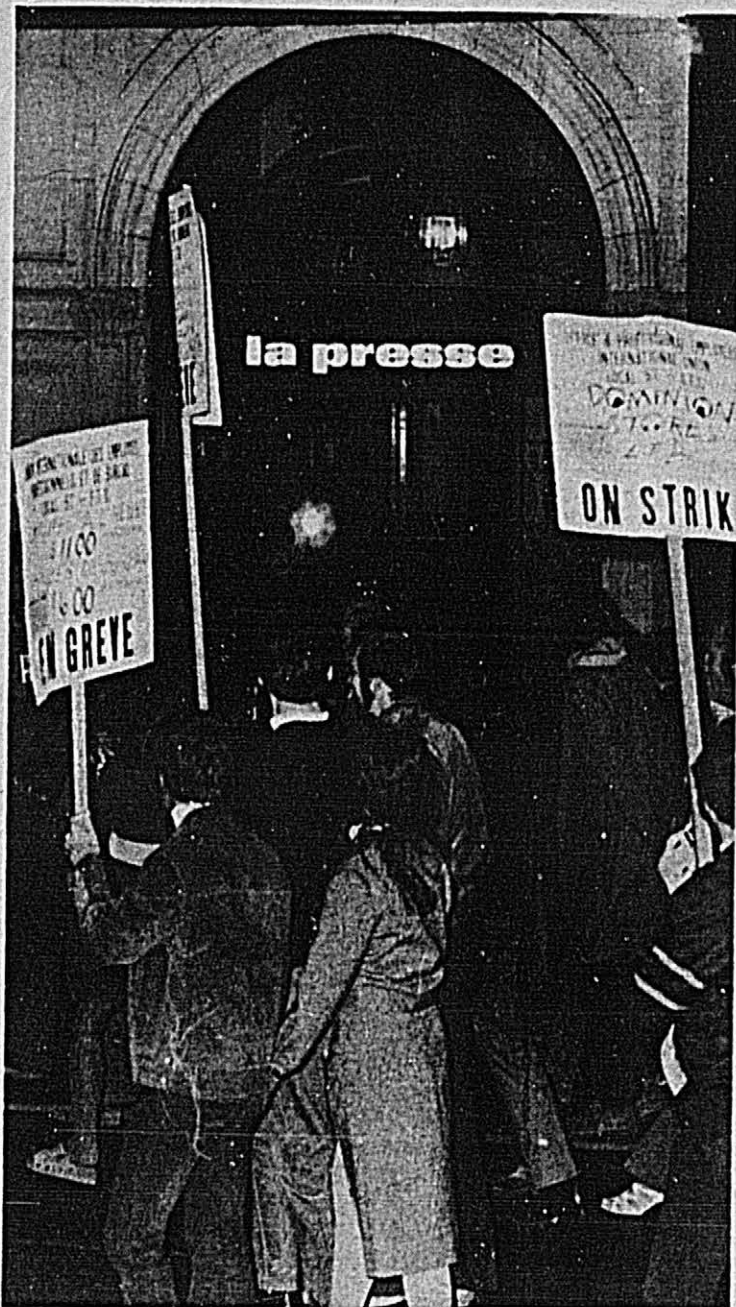
what our country is doing not just to Vietnam but to the rest of the world as well. "Marines in the Dominican Republic; napalm in Guatemala; military 'advisors' in Bolivia. Che dead. Neon Coca-Cola signs flashing from Saigon to Johannesburg. All over the world we saw American propping up corrupt and reactionary governments. Smiling generals. Pan Am jets. Smiling businessmen. While the people remain poor, diseased, illiterate, unemployed. We saw the 'free world'—an undeclared American empire, free only for American business to do whatever it wants.

We were dragged to the inevitable conclusion that our government doesn't act in the interests of the people, but for the benefit of rich, gigantic corporations and the men who run them. The system of world wide power and domination behind the war we have learned to call by its proper name: imperialism. It is that system that has

caused not only Vietnam to be against the war against the globe: the war against a Black population at the power to determine the time after the fall, 1969. It is too long. He has appeared in his cell. I don't see that I

stuck of the war. Casualties: Vietnamese, 1 boyfriends, 1 fat. Peace may be 73. No in Paris expose and we

in. So unive nam, the th



by arnold bennett

Hot summer on the Second Front

For 18 years, no Quebec judge refused to grant an injunction against striking employees. Then, two days ago, came a surprising decision by Superior Court Justice Leon Lalonde.

The judge rejected a petition by the Turnbull Elevator Company asking for an injunction against striking mechanics. He ruled that the company had "failed to live up to its contract commitments" to its 50 mechanics, members of the International Union of Elevator Constructors.

The company had refused to pay a wage increase due under the terms of an agreement signed in 1967. It maintained that it did not have to honor a "private" contract since a province-wide construction decree regulates all salaries in the industry.

The judge overruled this objection, but the company has not yet indicated whether it will pay the workers the increase.

In all other labour disputes this summer, the courts were solidly behind management. Injunctions were granted against three wildcat strikes and three legal strikes.

The most famous case, which the commercial press was unable to play down, was that of 7,000 Hydro Québec workers in June. The Labour Ministry used the weapon of an injunction to force the strikers back to work after five days.

A ten-day wildcat strike in July by 3,000 Iron Ore Co. workers in Sept-Îles ended in a confrontation between police and angry workers. 52 strikers were charged for not observing the back-to-work injunction. Nine were arrested and six were laid off. The current Iron Ore dispute which has fermented since the end of May has not yet been settled, mainly because of the intransigence of the company. A report by a government conciliator, released last week, had to advise management to consider the workers as the most important part of the company's operations.

But the tone of the report demonstrated clearly for whose benefit the government was acting. "The employer owning the means of production needs the brains and arms of his workers to keep his business alive and to increase his capital," the report said.

In mid-July, 130 lumberjacks in Forestville walked off their jobs in protest against housing conditions and the poor quality of food. The rest of the 1100 Anglo-Pulp workers gradually joined the strikers, but the company obtained an injunction. The workers, however, resolved to pursue their struggle against the "inhuman working conditions" by other means, even if their strike had been sabotaged after one week.

The commercial press often does not bother to cover strikes which it considers "minor." This was the case with the United Fishermen's Cooperative in Newport in the Gaspé. The 160 fishermen went on strike legally in June to protest unhealthy working conditions. But the company had no difficulty in obtaining an injunction within a week.

The press was more attracted by a strike at Place Ville Marie. Female maintenance staff at PVM earned a net weekly salary of less than \$50, but the employer, Trizec, refused to negotiate. Trizec obtained a partial injunction which forced the strikers to limit the number of

Continued on page 27

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East Pakistan

Continued from page 19

three quarter share of crops. The areas of intense struggle were Jessore, Mymensingh, Rangpur, and Dinajpur. The movement aroused the consciousness of the Bengali people.

During the forties, the Muslim League, with a peasant based organization, had managed to win the support of the Muslim peasantry in Bengal, promising their liberation from the Hindu landlords. The league had fought for independence on the basis of the concept laid down in the Lahore Resolution, which had envisioned "Independent states" of loose federation, where Muslims of divergent cultures could live on the principle of cooperation.

The West Pakistani rulers, however, managed to successfully sabotage the earlier agreements after the partition. East Pakistan turned out to be a colony rather than an equal partner. The cultural economic and political domination of East Bengal was the reality of Pakistan's brief existence. Hence the claim that East Pakistan is a colony of the West, a situation of total exploitation by the West Pakistani masters.

Thus what has started off as an agreement between the two geographically separated and culturally divergent regions to share a common destiny turned into a colonial occupation of one region by another. In this colonial situation the capitalist class of the western wing owned almost all industry in the eastern wing, used it as a market for goods manufactured in the western part, and systematically discriminated against all classes in the eastern wing. The pattern of economic development pursued by the West Pakistani dominated central government was such that foreign exchange earned from the exports of eastern goods and the bulk of foreign loans were utilized for the development of West Pakistan. A large military establishment, which consumed up to 60% of the country's budget, was not only geared to the defence of the western region, but was recruited almost entirely from that part. The situation in the civil services was not much better: Bengalis held 16% of the positions.

True to the traditions of colonialism, economic and political exploitation of Bengal was accompanied by attempts to undermine the native culture and value system. An alien language, Urdu was proclaimed as the sole national language of the country. Opposition to this linguistic oppression was charac-

terized as treason. The Bengalis defied the imposition of Urdu, but Bengali was accepted as a second national language only after open rebellion had led to bloodshed.

Bengali culture, in general, however, continued to be degraded by West Pakistani rulers. They nurtured and preached stereotypes about the laziness, semi-Hinduism, and timidity of Bengalis. Perpetuation of these myths served as valuable instruments of exploitation of Bengalis.

Such exploitation was made possible by effective political and economic



MUJIBUR RAHMAN

authority in Pakistan which had passed into the hands of a select group of industrialists (about 20 families), feudal and semifeudal landlords, and the civil and military bureaucracy, all belonging to West Pakistan.

Why did these ruling cliques originate in the same area? The deliberate attempt by the British to develop the West and North West of the Indian sub-continent industrially and commercially at the cost of Bengal's (which remained politically turbulent) backwardness led to the development of a small class of landed and mercantile capitalist and bureaucratic families. The Muslim League leadership reflected the interests of this class. It was natural then, that after Partition the civil and military bureaucratic headquarters came to be located (along with the concentration of landed, mercantile and industrial wealth) in West Pakistan.

Opposition in Bengal

The insurrection which took place, as early as 1948, in the districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur, Mymensingh, and Jessore was an early reminder of the peasants' dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in Bengal. Mass struggles reflecting widespread opposition to the West Pakistani subjugation of Bengal continuously shook the political life of the country. Massive demonstrations of feeling broke out successively in 1952 (on the language issue) and in 1954. 1954 was the occasion of the General Elections, in which a United Front of opposition parties, largely composed of urban based petty bourgeois elements, adopted a program that called for withdrawal from the Western Alliance and radical agrarian reforms. The Front secured unanimous approval of the East

Pakistani voters but, only months later, was thrown out of power and replaced by a military governor, General Iskander Mirza.

The coup d'etat on October 8, 1958, was clearly the result of a desire by the armies and the bureaucracies to prevent Pakistan's first ever general elections in March, 1959. Almost all political parties in East Pakistan were pressing for complete internal autonomy, agrarian reforms and Pakistan's withdrawal from the Western military block. Understandably, then, those at the helm of affairs in Pakistan felt threatened.

Ten years of tyrannical military rule brought the tolerance of the masses to its limit. The result was an uprising of the people in the form of widespread strikes in the cities and agrarian rebellion. The peasants rose against Ayub's Basic Democracy System which had intended to produce a small class of rich people amongst the rural population, who would act as agents for the Administration. These rebellions occurred during late 1965 and early 1966.

Attempting to take advantage of these popular uprisings Mujibur Rahman's Awami league put forth the now well-known 6 point program. The essence of this program was a demand for a larger share in the exploitation of the people and resources of East Pakistan by the enlarged and yet immobilized petty bourgeoisie. Because of the growth of colonial de-industrialization of East Pakistan in order to use the region as a producer of raw materials had prevented the rise of a significant Bengali bourgeoisie. Because of the growth of commercial activity and the need of an administrative cadre there was an upsurge in the numbers of petty bourgeois and the civil bureaucracy. The leadership of the Awami league comes from sections of this petty bourgeoisie, and reflects their interests rather than the mass of the working people.

The cumulative effect of the growing restlessness of the masses was the rebellion of 1968-69. Though it was initiated by the students, alliances were formed with the workers and peasants. It was a historic struggle in which attempts were made to establish liberated areas, land was occupied, seized and distributed, chairmen of the Basic Democrats were tried and executed by peoples' courts and workers' committees and councils created in some cities. The upsurge was quickly subdued, perhaps due to lack of proper coordination. The political leadership of the urban-based Awami League and the National Awami Party had proved ineffective.

Yet the strength of the rebellion was such that the dictatorial military regime of Ayub Khan had to go, making room for Yahya Khan, who promised general elections to be held sometime in late 1970. What happened after the elections in which the Awami League secured a majority vote is well known.

The responsibility for the tragic events of March and April which caused countless deaths and misery to millions lies, at least partly, with the Awami league. The fact that the party had engaged itself wholeheartedly in the constitutional fight for autonomy exposed its programmatic weakness. The Awami League had failed to arm the people. And in a struggle that involved the entire people that should have been the first step. This, of course, gives credit to the claim that the Awami League does not actually represent all the people of East Pakistan.

Even an analysis of the election results backs the claim. In the last elections, only 57% of the total Bengali voters showed up, of which about 75% voted for the Awami league. This counts for about 42% of the total Bengali population. 43% of the voters abstained. In a highly politicized region like East

Bengal, this is most significant, more so when we realize that most of the Left organizations had boycotted the elections.

The bankruptcy of the Awami League leadership, now based in Calcutta, is clear to the Bengalis. It has formed a "provisional government of Bangladesh" and sent representatives abroad begging diplomatic recognition and guns and supplies to begin a "war of liberation". As a result, two main resistance groups have emerged. One is the leadership of the East Pakistan Communist Party, (Marxist-Leninist). This group, which is actively engaged in



YAHYA KHAN

armed guerrilla combat, has organised a military cadre of several thousands. The EPCP (M-L) has issued a call for the development of a peoples' war in order to carry through an agrarian democratic revolution.

The second group that has been formed is the Monir Bhashani led Resistance coordination committee, a loose alliance of social democrats, Trotskyites, pro-Moscow communists, and their peasant workers, and student organizations.

The emergence of the latter group leaves open the possibility of Viet Nam-like coalition of nationalist and anti-imperialist forces developed at the local level.

Hot summer . . .

Continued from page 25

picketers to four per day. Later, the company brought in employees of one of its subsidiaries as scabs.

On July 8, two strikers were arrested during a demonstration in front of PVM. Finally, faced with the determination of the workers not to give in to blackmail, the company agreed to negotiate. The 26-day strike ended July 23, and the 375 workers got their wage increases.

The strike is the only legal weapon available to the unions.

Employers have been able to make use not only of court injunctions, but also of their equivalent of the strike—the lock-out.

There were four lock-outs this summer. One was imposed by Sani-Metal, a Quebec City manufacturer of kitchen equipment. Its 22 employees had formed an accredited union, affiliated to the Confederation des Syndicats Nationaux, in March. But as soon as they began to talk about a collective agreement, the employer ended his recognition of the union and imposed a lock-out June 10.

Confronted with this arbitrary action, the employees set up a

picket line in front of the factory. But the boss easily obtained an injunction. He then laid off 17 of the 22 strikers and continued operations with scab labour. Judge Georges Pelletier upheld the legality of the injunction, despite an appeal by the union. The Sani-Metal conflict is still unresolved.

On the same date as the Sani-Metal action, Canadian Breweries locked out its 750 employees. Thus armed, the company was able to force an "agreement" a month later.

The municipality of Ste-Therese used a similar tactic in July to break off negotiations with the CSN, which represented 50 of its employees. Two days later, the same employees were rehired.

The lock-out which attracted the most public notice this summer was that imposed by the owners of *La Presse* on 350 unionized members of the newspaper's technical workers. That lock-out, which began July 19, has not yet ended. Power Corporation, which owns *La Presse*, has refused to make any concessions. The dispute centers on the company's attempt to introduce automation, which would considerably decrease the personnel, especially the typesetters. Power Corporation has placed full-page advertisements in other Montreal news-

papers in an attempt to gain public (middle-class) support. But at least some Québec intellectuals are unofficially boycotting *La Presse* until the lock-out ends.

Another bitter labour conflict, still unresolved, involves Steinberg's stores in the Lac St-Jean region. Workers in the Chicoutimi, Arvida and Jonquiere branches have been on strike since July 5. They were joined by Steinberg's Alma employees August 5. But the management decides from the outset to keep the stores open with scab labour from Montreal rather than negotiate. At the same time, the stores launched a campaign to attract customers with "miracle prices" never before seen in the region.

A demonstration was held in support of the strikers July 30, but the protesters were dispersed with fire hoses. The next day another demonstration was held in Chicoutimi. Eight arrests were made. August 3 a bomb exploded behind one of the Arvida stores, creating \$35,000 in damage. Three days later, a third protest brought 1,000 people together in Chicoutimi. They were dispersed with tear gas. Meanwhile the company brought charges against three strikers and their union.

There were plenty of other strikes this summer, although not all of them evidenced such blatant behaviour by management and its collaborators. Between June 1 and August 10, a total of 23,005 workers engaged in 23 strikes, 17 of them legal. There were six demonstrations, 155 arrests and one bomb.

About 300 employees of the Price Company in Alma occupied their factory July 10. They wanted to continue production despite the company's intention of shutting down the plant. The company called on the mayor of the town to mediate, but he merely threatened the occupiers with police action. The next day, 400 people demonstrated in support of the workers and protested the attitude of the mayor. But the factory was evacuated July 12 under the threat of police intervention. Within a week the company brought 80 charges of trespassing, conspiracy and illegal occupation against the workers.

The main threat now confronting Québec's labour unions is the existence of the FCAI (Fédération Canadienne des Associations Indépendantes), an organization embracing "company unions" and scabs.

In three labour disputes this summer, companies used members of FCAI as strikebreakers. The legitimate unions charge that FCAI systematically ignores the right of unionized workers to come together in an assembly. And whenever trade union meetings are organized by the FCAI, the employers are "by tradition" invited. The employers can then weed out the "malcontents" and "troublemakers" in advance.

FCAI has been condemned several times with documented evidence by the Quebec Labour Relations Council. Opponents of FCAI are currently trying to organize a boycott of all factories in which it is implanted.

On another front, the Québec Federation of Labour has called

on the government to give up its policy of polite persuasion" of large corporations and bring in legislation making French the working language in Québec.

And the Confederation of National Trade Unions warned September 9 that there will be serious "initiatives" taken by Québec workers if Québec does not soon become economically independent of international corporations.

The CNTU council warned that workers would rise in open protests against the "inhuman dominance of international corporations which now are strangling the province to

death."

CNTU president Marcel Pepin called on Canada and Québec to "break away from the yoke of American imperialism before the workers do it themselves."

Large international companies have forecast massive layoffs. The CNTU wants the corporation to bear the brunt of layoff pressures. It advocates that the government force corporations to continue to pay the full salary of a laid-off worker for at least a year.

Half of the Quebec labor force is employed by international corporations, according to CNTU statistics.

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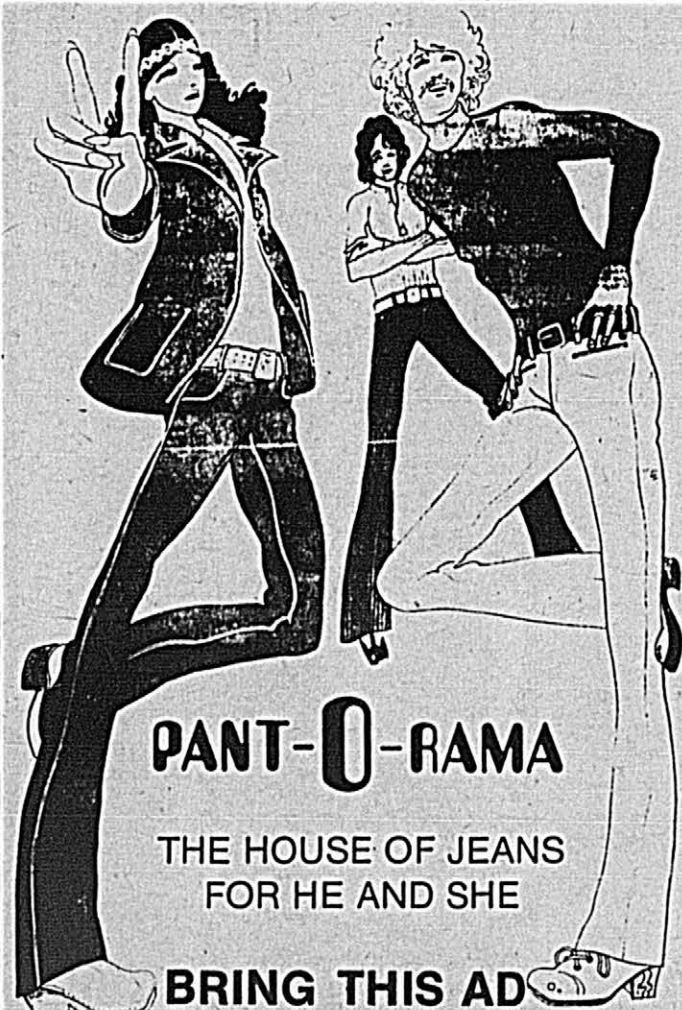
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PURPLE UNKNOWN

by evelyn schusheim

Fee raise hits Yanks

The Government of Quebec is planning to raise the fees of foreign students and lower the fees of Canadians, in the '72-'73 academic year.

The effect of this change will probably be a reduction in the number of foreign students, presently 13 to 14 percent of the student body. The higher fee will affect new students entering McGill only and not students already following a program here.

"The Education Department controls the fees of all Quebec universities in the sense that they don't allow fees to be changed", explained Principal Robert Bell. "Having higher fees for foreign students wouldn't put McGill in a unique position. Most American schools have higher fees for foreign and even out-of-state students."

"I wouldn't like to see the number of foreign students go down," Bell said. "But if I was speaking as a taxpayer I might have a different answer."

This will be the second year that McGill will operate with a budget deficit. Although this year's grant from the Quebec government was higher than last year's, part of the increase has already been absorbed by last year's deficit.

Last year, McGill was expecting a six million dollar deficit but as a result of budget cuts, the deficit was reduced. This year the grant was raised to \$31 million from last year's \$25.6 million. The raise isn't as high as it seems since of it two million dollars is only an adjustment to last year's grant and since some items covered by this year's budget for this were not covered in the past.

A five million dollar deficit is expected in the coming year but so far no budget cuts have been announced.



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PURPLE UNKNOWN

by arnold bennett

Laurier & Geneviève & Pat &...

The events of last October are being recreated by Immedia, a Montreal film company.

Geneviève Bujold and singer Pauline Julien have agreed to appear in the film, "Three Days in October." Miss Julien, who was among those imprisoned during the War Measures Act, will undergo her arrest once

again, this time before the cameras.

The script was written by McGill history professor Laurier LaPierre and broadcaster Patrick Watson.

"Three Days in October," says LaPierre, "is an attempt to look at the repercussions of a major happening on ordinary people. It is not a study of the events themselves."

"We did not set out to make a trial of either the FLQ or the government. All we did was let the events happen as we knew them."

But he admits that "there is no such thing as an apolitical film."

One of the three major roles is that of a prominent French-Canadian intellectual who opposed the Duplessis regime of the fifties. The FLQ needs him because he is one of the few people in Quebec with enough prestige to force a settlement with the government.

Geneviève Bujold will play the part of his daughter, a Quebec nationalist who believes that there is not much to choose between terrorism and the violence of the system.

She is in love with the information officer of the FLQ cell which has committed one of the kidnappings. His assignment is to discover and contact another cell which has arbitrarily kidnapped someone else.

The first cell fears that the other, confronted with the refusal of the government to negotiate in good faith, will panic and kill its prisoner, thus damaging the work of the movement.

"Three Days in October" is therefore a "love and suspense" film, according to LaPierre.

Also planned is a teach-in scene, possibly at the Union, in which the principal characters will participate. LaPierre says that students may be used as extras, but "whether we pay them or not is another matter."

Immedia is presently trying to obtain financial backing for the production, which is expected to cost over one-half million dollars.

Unlike their Hollywood counterparts, the fledgling Canadian and Quebec film industries cannot afford to spend lavishly on their productions. Immedia is no exception and will face a financial problem in planned scenes involving the police and army.

The producers also need a train, a Citroen and two horses. LaPierre wouldn't say what the horses are for, so your guess is as good as mine.

Tom Spalding, the producer, has a background in television and in Toronto's Crest Theatre.

LaPierre, who will also act in the film in "an important secondary role," will serve as associate producer.

Patrick Watson will direct "Three Days in October," which LaPierre predicts will be "as good and as great as 'Z'".

The production schedule for the film is still uncertain, since negotiations are still in progress and casting for the 36 speaking parts has not been completed. The producers hope to do most

of their hiring in Quebec and aim at a simultaneous release of both English and French versions of the film.

The first release of "Three Days in October" will definitely be in Montreal.

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This common sentiment is the reason for the existence of the McGill Outing Club. MOC is an organization for people interested in camping, environmental preservation, outdoor photography, or practically any other aspect of the outdoors.

Outside the city, the centre of the club's activities is at the House in Shawbridge, 40 miles north of Montreal. Since the late 40's, MOC has had some type of cabin or house in the Laurentians, allowing literally thousands of people to enjoy its use.

The atmosphere at the House is comfortable and completely informal. When you arrive at the House, our maitre d', chief-cook-and-bottle-washer, carpenter, painter and plumber rolled into one—namely our House Manager—will greet you at the door with a cheery, "Take your boots off!" Pay no attention to him, it's part of his therapy. apy.

Seriously speaking, it was rumoured that Conrad Hilton was at one time thinking of building a huge luxury hotel in Shawbridge. But after hearing of MOC's fine accommodation at such ridiculous prices (or maybe it was such ridiculous accommodation at such fine prices) he realized that the competition would just be too tough and wisely cancelled his plans for investment.

For those who enjoy things rustic, a trip to the House is worthwhile. You'll be intrigued

by our Skis-through-the-Ages Room. Here you'll see the skis that made Jean-Claude Kilby laugh, the skis that make our equipment manager cry, the skis Hannibal used when crossing the Alps (they were Caputs, an early forerunner of Head), even Hannibal's boots (foam-injection, buckle sandals).

If you're getting the idea that some of our equipment is old, you get 'A' for accuracy, but there's no cause for dismay. All of it is cross-country equipment, still in perfectly useable condition and available for the use of our members absolutely free. Too good to be true, huh? If some of you downhill aces aren't jumping out of your socks to take up skiing-Scandinavian style, you should consider giving cross-country a try for a real taste of insecurity (most cross-country skis have no edges). Some of the other equipment available at the House for the use of the members includes snowshoes, toboggans, inner tubes, ski boots, climbing ropes and equipment, and a kayak.

Regardless of the season, from fall to spring, activities at the House are on a "do your own thing" basis. However, several times during the year, the club organizes a big weekend with planned activities. Thanksgiving, Hallowe'en, New Year's and Sno-Ski Weekend are times when the House is packed with people meeting other people and getting away from books and the city for the weekend. The Christmas holidays are another popular period when people can spend a couple of days, or even a couple of weeks skiing in the Laurentians (the House is only 10-15 minutes drive from most of the big ski hills).

Some of the other activities

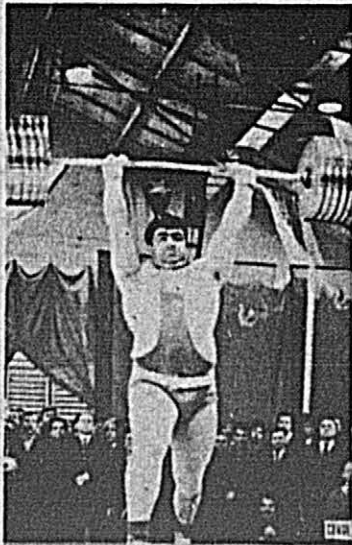
available through MOC are canoeing, camping, backpacking, rock climbing and meetings with members of other outing clubs from the States. Every weekend during the second term, downhill ski trips are organized at group rates with transportation, tow and even lessons included.

By now you probably get the picture, that MOC is a large club with a wide spectrum of activities and people. New members are encouraged to try anything they are interested in, whether they have experience or not. All the old MOC veterans started out by making fools of themselves. Now they're experts at it!!

How do you join this illustrious group of outdoor maniacs? You can drop by the office in the Union (Rm. 416, tel. 392-8918) almost any day at lunch hour, or phone the Membership Chairman, Elizabeth Dunkley at 671-6233. Or, if you're in the Laurentians any weekend, drop into the House at 12 Shaw Street, Shawbridge.

SPORTS NOTICE

Writers, humorists, cartoonists, desk editors and other unemployed labor wanted to help produce an entertaining sports section. If interested drop in at the Daily Sports Desk or leave a note on the bulletin board any time this and next week.



... the proletariat are reduced to selling their labor-power in order to live

mcgill redmen football schedule 1971-72

September 18th McGill at Bishops 2.00 p.m.
October 2nd S.G.W.U. at McGill 2.00 p.m.
October 9th McGill at Loyola 2.00 p.m.
October 16th R.M.C. at McGill 2.00 p.m.
October 23rd McGill at U de M 2.00 p.m.
October 30th Sectional Playoffs

WOMEN STUDENTS NEED CANADIAN DOLLARS?

WOMEN'S AQUATICS

R.V.C. Weston Pool, 555 Sherbrooke St. W.

QUALIFIED SWIMMING INSTRUCTOR & LIFEGUARD

LOCKER ROOM ATTENDANTS

APPLY — Miss Gerry Dubrule, R.V.C. Pool Office
(East R.V.C. — enter off Sherbrooke St. near Aylmer)

WOMEN'S ATHLETICS

RECREATION — INSTRUCTION — COMPETITION
COME ON OUT AND TRY IT—Equipment supplied.

starting now. Register by going to first class of activity, dressed to participate.

archery. Organizational meeting for archery enthusiasts (Novice, instructional program, club) Sept. 20th - 1:15 p.m. Lecture Room, Rm. G20 Currie Gym.

aquatics. Instructional classes in swimming and diving, Red Cross and Royal Life Saving tests, Synchronized Swimming, Skin Diving and Underwater Hockey. START Mon. Sept. 20th - get information pamphlet from Athletics Office, Currie or R.V.C. Pool Building.

Intramural field hockey. Clinic Sept. 20th 1:00-2:00 p.m. First games - Sept. 21st 5:00-6:30 p.m. ENTRY DEADLINE 10:00 a.m. Sept. 17th - See your Intramural representative.

field hockey team. Practices and tryouts began Mon. Sept. 13th - All enthusiasts still welcome - start today, Sept. 16th Thurs. 5:00-6:30 p.m. Forbes Field. We're looking forward to a good season!

ladies keep fit. Meeting for all interested, to set class times, Sept. 22nd 1:15 p.m. Lecture Room, Rm. G20 Currie Gym.

tennis. Meeting for Novice players who want instruction and Club members—Sept. 21st 1:15 p.m. Lecture Room, Rm. G20, Currie Gym.

judo. For former members - starts Sept. 22nd, 7:30 p.m. Judo Room, Currie Gym

synchronized swimming. Club starts Wed. Sept. 22nd 7:00 p.m. and classes on Tues. and Thurs. 3:00 p.m. R.V.C. Weston Pool. Supply own suit and cap.

recreational swimming. R.V.C. Pool and Currie Pools; both now open. Sept. 16th and 17th 5:00-9:30 p.m. Bring suit and cap.

COMING SOON—WEEK OF SEPT. 27th BOWLING — FENCING — MODERN DANCE — JUDO (new members). FOR INFORMATION call 392-4547

McGILL MEN'S INTRAMURALS

INTRAMURAL SPORTS FALL PROGRAM 1971-72 MEN

GOLF TOURNAMENT. At the Royal Montreal Golf Club, Thursday, September 30th, starting at 9:00 a.m. The tournament will be 18 holes of medal play. Prizes for Net and Gross scores will be awarded. No practice rounds will be permitted. Tee off times MUST be made in Room 7 of the Gym. Please indicate faculty and handicap. Entry fee is two dollars and fifty cents (\$2.50) and no one will be permitted to play unless he has been assigned a specific starting time. All McGill male students are eligible.

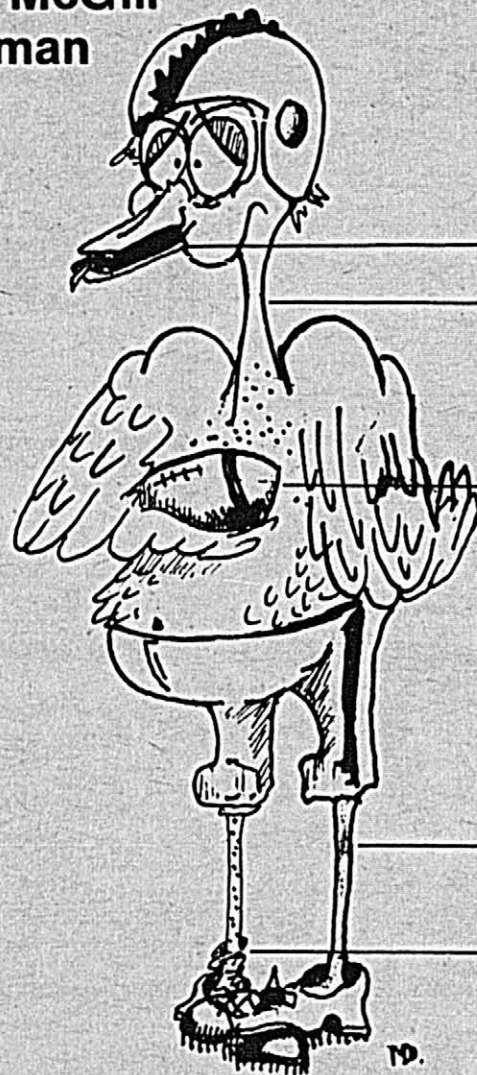
TENNIS. The tennis tournament will be held at Forbes Field starting Wednesday, September 29th. Entries close September 24th. Please check notice boards outside Room 7 in the Gym and at the tennis courts for date and time of games. Entries accepted in Room 7 of the Gym ONLY.

TOUCHFOOTBALL. All league games will be played on Lower Campus, Forbes Field and the Stadium from 1:00 to 2:00 p.m. and 5:15 to 6:15 p.m. The league starts Monday, October 4th and entries close September 27th. All team entries MUST be submitted to the Faculty Athletic Representative OR the Intramural Office and accompanied by a \$10.00 deposit for each team entry. This deposit will be refunded provided no defaults occur. For further information contact the Intramural Office, 392-4730.

SOCCER LEAGUE. An Intramural Soccer League has been formed this year. This will be an all campus sport - any Club, Class, Residence, or Faculty on campus may enter a team. Games will be played on Forbes Field and Lower Campus at 5:15 and 6:15 p.m. Mondays and Wednesdays. League play begins on Monday, October 4th - and the deadline for entries is September 27th.

ALL team entries MUST be submitted to the Intramural Office and accompanied by a \$10.00 deposit for each team entry. This deposit will be refunded provided no defaults occur.

The McGill Redman



an 'almost' extinct bird related to the Martlet family
may be called foul

possesses a large bill
versatile—may be stretched

its egg—in the habit of kicking it, throwing it, dropping it and more than once laying it

mating season sept-nov

migration habits—extremely provincial, lives from one year to the next;

needs support

by laurie breger

Just when all seems amiss in God's kingdom, when these troubled times tug tenuously at the tolerance of mankind, what divine spectre should grace our land with absolution and reprieve?

Descending the hallowed corridors of wisdom to the earthly halls of learning perched atop a chariot of salvation drawn by milky mares whinnying football cheers, the Martlet Foundation IS.

The Foundation, representative of the interests of McGill graduates, has reacted to the plight of intercollegiate football at this university, postponing its demise.

Yes, the McGill Redmen will (hopefully) rise again! Boasting a spanking new coaching staff in a spanking new league, the club is still stretching its muscles since emerging from the state of functional limbo into which it was cast at the close of last season.

It was a fortunate string of events that allowed this emergence to occur: Firstly, how can we forget the barely adequate sum scraped together by the Martlets to cover operational costs, an amount virtually dwarfed by budgets of years past; then there was the timely inception of a Quebec league enabling McGill to combat in or near Montreal, thus avoiding exorbitant travel expenses; and finally the recruitment of a volunteer coaching staff.

Led by Head Coach John Roberts the staff of four dentists and a psychologist

are all Redmen graduates themselves, having served their time during the ripe years of the early sixties.

Roberts, Willie Lambert and Don Taylor all played together on the cinderella team of 1960 that ended a 13-game, two year winless streak, to go on to capture national honours. It happened again in '62, this time with Wade Kenny and Dick Tucker aboard.

Roberts makes no bones about his

task: "We have only nine players returning from last year—there's a lot of work to be done." Various circumstances have left McGill stripped of many of her veterans. Several diehard footballers including Dan Smith and Dave Doherty were part of the exodus to other universities that occurred in the wake of the budget crisis. Pete Bender graduated, while standouts Dave Fleischer and Bill McKenna fell victim to the new five-year eligibility rule limiting a player's active duty.

But not all was lost! Liberated linemen Bobbie Bell and Howie Mednick return to continue their art of bone crushing and body smooching. The coach expounded his confidence in them, saying "If they have to play sixty minutes of football, they will." Tackle Donnie Dawson is back, as is Mike Nanne, a stalwart on the offensive line.

And may the bells ring out and the voices cheer for the appearance of one Chris Rumball, tabbed as "the outstanding punt-return specialist". Well, aside from specializing in the outstanding return of punts Rumball will also see action in the halfback slot. Fullback Ken Aikin and Rick Morgan complete the offensive backfield.

All three have been displaced from other positions to partake of ball-carrying honours. Rumball and Morgan were defensive halfbacks while Aikin has moved over from halfback. Backfield coach Lambert praises the efforts of his charges, conceding "they have a lot to learn".

Roberts names Dis Auders as his starting quarterback. Auders, an NDG find, is acclaimed to have a fine arm with legs to match. Understudy Graham Donnelly is always poised in the wings should he get the nod.

However thin the experience has been till now, this is where it ends. The defensive backfield is a raw shade of green, featuring Brian Quick (who is), Brad Rayner and Fred DeGraff. Kenny, coach of the secondary, was quick to point out that Rumball is always available to

first confession at Bishop's

assume his old spot at defensive halfback if necessary.

The Redmen's first major ordeal is this Saturday, that being the two-hour-plus bus ride to Lennoxville for the season opener against Bishop's. The second major ordeal is the game. "They're a set team," Roberts warns, "with a strong nucleus of 19 graduates. We're expecting a fast offence and a good passing attack."

Apparently Bishop's is a power to be reckoned with. Early football polls have placed her in the favorite's role to repeat last year's championship. But do not fear—our boys are ranked second, with Sir George third.

As the saying goes, second out of three ain't bad.



daily photo by harold rosenberg

TOM MOONEY sporting a new hair style? No it's rookie Head Coach John Roberts, here seen demonstrating the latest pigskin shuffle.

Mini-Market

These ads may be placed in the advertising office at the University Centre from 10 am to 4 pm. Ads received by noon appear the following day. Rates: 3 consecutive insertions — \$3.00 maximum 20 words. 15 cents per extra word.

FOR SALE

LAB COATS ON SALE now in room 129 McIntyre Building. Men's & ladies' sizes. Open 8:30 AM to 4:30 PM.

STUDENTS' USED BOOK SALE. Deposit books for sale at B-24 of the union. Collection runs from Sept. 15-20. See notices for exact times.

SKIS, METAL; bindings; Henke boots, size 8 1/2. Perfect condition. Call 937-7965.

Will sell at half-price: **LAW TEXTS** for 1st yr., Civil & Criminal. Also Freund's Modern Elementary Statistics. Flugel's Psych. of Clothes. Murphy's Historical Intro. to Mod. Psychology. Woodworth's Contemporary Schools of Psychology. Hill's Genetics & Human Heredity. Tel: 334-7576.

HOUSING

SUBLET, 2 1/2 ROOM APT. at 3525 Aylmer Apt. 604, \$125, Call 482-0320/352 or 843-5268 after 6 pm.

INDIANS, PAKISTANIS, Curried food lovers, \$22.50 per week up. Come try our sample, 3495 Hutchison between 4 to 6 PM weekdays.

SHARE LIVING QUARTERS, Guy mid-twenties to share with opposite, 487-6634 evenings.

AYLMER 3556, near McGill rooms with fridge, stove, sink, linen supplied - \$16-\$18 weekly. Phone 849-4887.

4 1/2 ROOM APT. to share with clean and quiet English speaking male student - only \$40 monthly if long term. Furnished with taste, desk, very easy transportation; 10 min. from Guy. Call 341-6365 pref. evenings or 430-2725.

APT. TO SHARE, male or female. Atwater district. Park, balcony, stereo. Own bedroom. Older student preferred. If possible vegetarian. 934-0685 evenings, weekends.

MISCELLANEOUS

BIG RED BUS TO BISHOP'S. Follow the Redmen. Saturday Sept. 18. Tickets \$3.25 (Engineers \$2.50). EUS office, McConnell Building, 392-8067, EUS Red & White Committee.

TYPING

STENOYPIST: Many years experience with books, theses and term papers. Electric typewriter. Call 731-9988.

THESES, MANUSCRIPTS, essays, reports, neatly typewritten. Bilingual. Moderate rates. Call 489-4198.

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ACCUMULATIONS AND COLLECTIONS OF OLD COMIC BOOKS wanted. High prices paid for old marvel & D.C. comics. Call Bob 482-1984.

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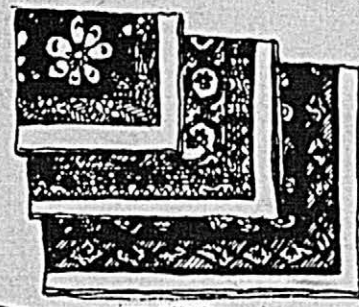
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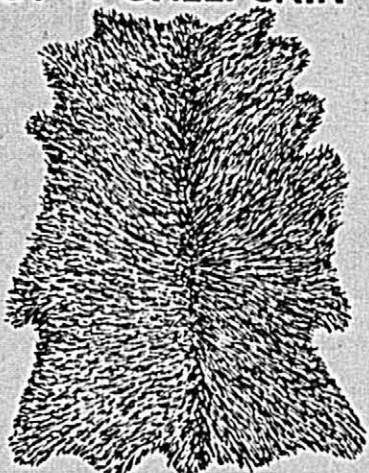
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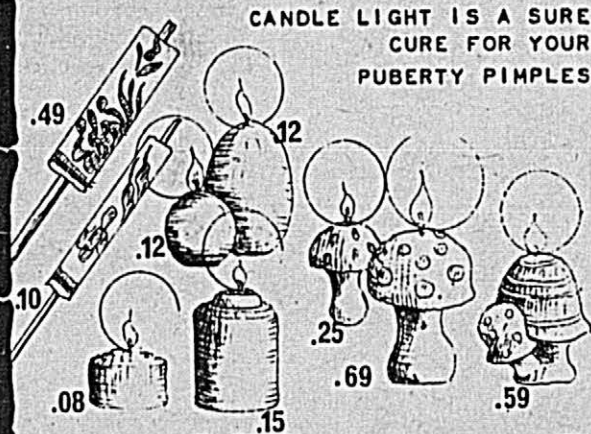


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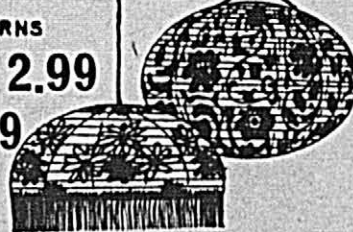


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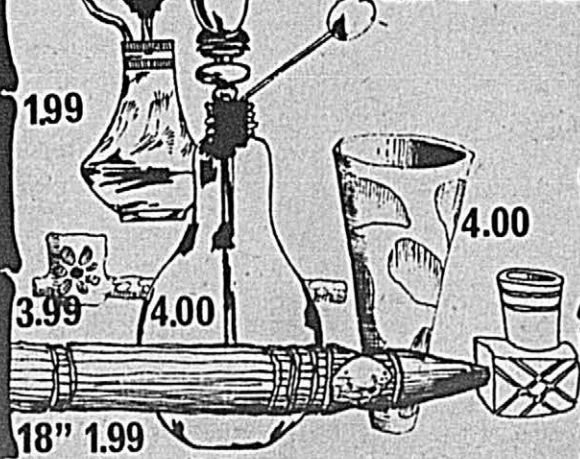


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